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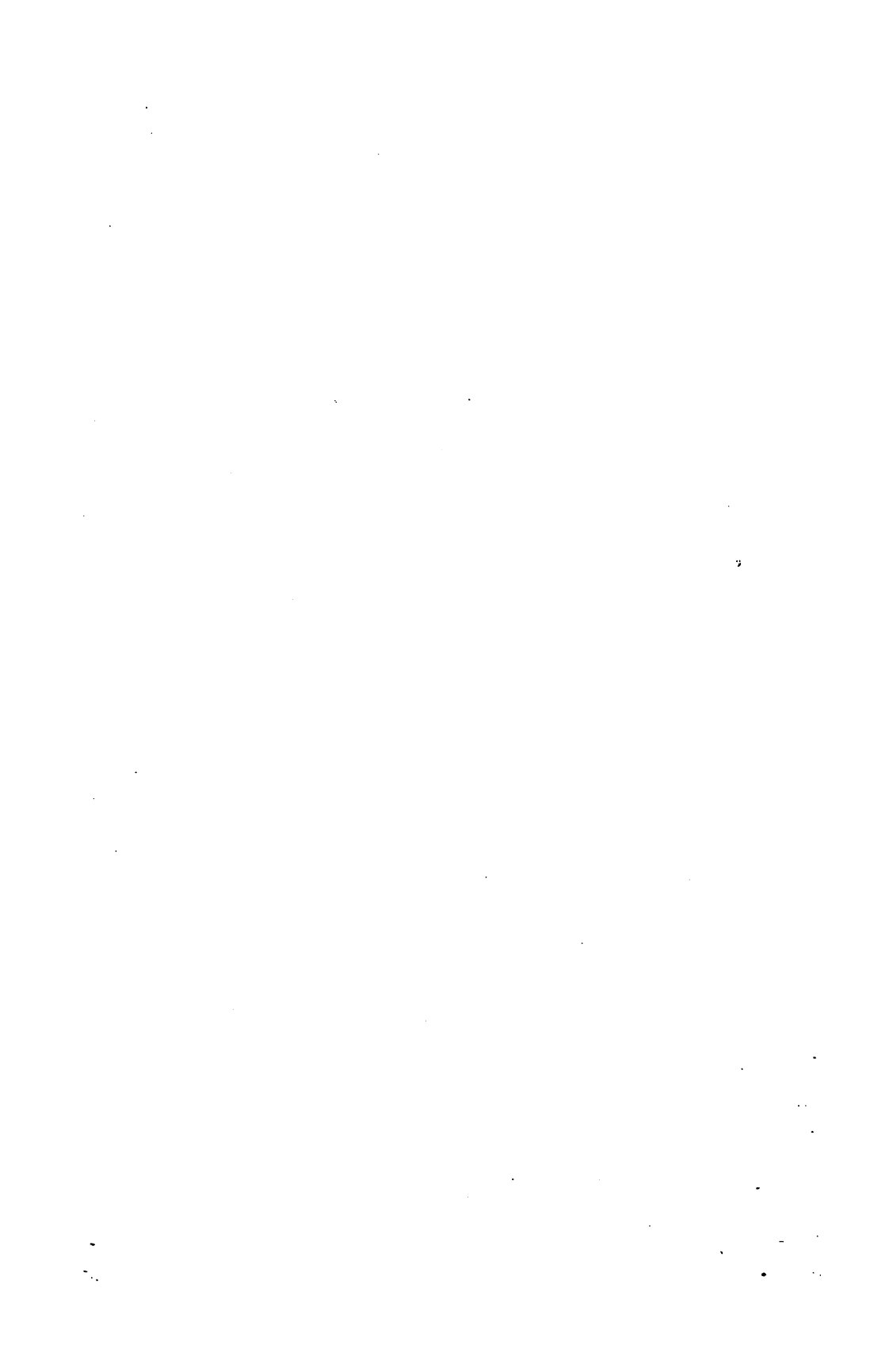
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SOME
AGRICULTURAL AND POLITICAL
IRISH QUESTIONS

CALMLY DISCUSSED.



BY
JOHN GREY V. PORTER, ESQ.

"HORAS NON NUMERO NISI SERENAS."

MOTTO ON A SUNDIAL.

LONDON:

J. RIDGWAY & SONS, PICCADILLY; FISHER, SON, & CO., NEWGATE-STREET;
AND KEENE, COLLEGE-GREEN, DUBLIN.

(1843.)

P R E F A C E.

IT is well known, that within the last fifty years, Ireland has made a wonderful progress in developing her own resources ; but it is not quite certain that she holds herself as great a share of her produce as formerly. There is not a doubt that the land is much better tilled, but there is a doubt whether the people are as well fed and clothed as their grandfathers ; or rather whether the division of much less produce between three millions, did not give each man more, than the division of much more produce between eight millions.

Great attention of late years has been paid to every kind of beneficial industry, especially to agriculture. All classes of the people have been fully taught to know, that a good agriculture must be the basis of Ireland's commercial prosperity ; and that her agriculture of to-day is both very bad in itself, and very far behind the Scotch.

Excellent books have been written by Martin Doyle and Blacker, adapted to the circumstances of the country, and exclusively devoted to push forward

a good system of agriculture. Still, it is only one of many roads to wealth—a necessity of livelihood with savages, that every family must follow ; it becomes a trade in the lapse of time. Too high a view of its importance, too close a devotion to its pursuits, justly exposes the writer or the farmer to the taunt of sordidness ; the judgment drawn always the same way, loses its equal balance, and the end is forgotten in the means.

Raise the mind of a people to a just sense of their own value as men, and under free political institutions, like our own, agriculture will certainly flourish in its own place. In short, we wish to be a nation of citizens, not a company of farmers spread over so much land, to supply John Bull in his factory with corn and cattle.

The Catholic Relief Bill of 1829, and the Irish Reform Bill of 1832, have both borne good fruit. Civil peace has followed the removal of unnecessary laws. The Irish church, too, levies her tithes, not from an innumerable, poor, and hostile people, but from the comparatively few, rich, friendly landlords ; The doors of the grand-jury rooms of the counties have been thrown open to the people, who now see and hear every step that is taken in keeping up the public roads and institutions out of the public purse. Drunkenness was lately not only a general vice, but a general calamity ; poverty, and disease, and disorder, were its fruits everywhere : when an apostle of abstinence rises up, and without more authority than an appeal

to their common sense, binds millions of the people by voluntary oaths, not to drink any spirituous liquors all their lives—an example of moral control and self-denial as honourable to the people as to its author. In short, the Irish character has grown stronger and better, more thoughtful and steady, but not less warm, hearty, and sincere.

I write for Ireland, not against England; and sincerely hope, that every day will more firmly unite Ireland with Great Britain, and believe that both countries in this way can be more happy, more powerful, and can better carry out the views of Providence, than alone by themselves. But when two friends choose to live together, must they not make some allowance for difference of opinions on many private questions? Must they not also refuse to gratify their own particular interest at one another's expense? A and B are two friends. B lives in a little cottage by the side of A's great house, that has been very much enlarged and adorned within the last fifty years, and is full of all kinds of wealth; while B has not always a good coat on his back. Still A and B are masters each in their own house, which they fit up as they like best. "But you err in the beginning: B is not A's friend, but a useful kind of labourer, whose farm belongs to A. How could you suppose that A and B were friends, when you saw them hard at work together, and A getting all the fruits?"—Is this a true view of the case?

I fear time will bring out much collision of interests between two countries so different in age of civilization, and in circumstances, as Ireland and England; and that each party will still find too fruitful sources of discord in difference of blood and of religion. It is quite true that (1.) Ireland must be governed by her own good opinion, not by force. She must sensibly feel that the Union's advantages outweigh its disadvantages. (2.) That the natural desire of a people, that have been hitherto so much kept back by civil wars and disorder, and is now growing stronger every day, to get a larger measure of self-government, will excite much jealousy in England. Every year tends to lessen the difference of available strength between England and Ireland. "Repeal the Union—restore the heptarchy!" The repeal-cry of spring, 1843, got up by O'Connell, has been already put down by the common sense of the people on both sides the water? I fear not. But could not many domestic Irish matters be left to Provincial Assemblies? Or, could not the Imperial Parliament be called in Dublin every third year (as Pitt intended?) It is hard to walk through the streets of Dublin, and not wish for SOME domestic legislation.

In speaking of the two great religious bodies, I wish to divest myself, as much as possible, of all prejudice, and to enter fully into the views and feelings of each. Sympathy, like charity, is doubly blessed. If, the closer our acquaintance, reputed virtues do not well

bear the light ; still reputed crimes often sink still more into pardonable faults, especially in the case of large bodies of men.

Self-love will ingeniously remove much of the blame we freely lay upon our neighbours, if, putting ourselves in their position, we find, that in the same case, we should have done very much the same ourselves. Away with the horrid bigotry that, to the conscientious principle, “ I do what I think right,” adds, “ You do not do what I do, and therefore are wrong ; ” instead of the charitable *primâ facie*, and more manly and generous creed, and “ You do what you think right.” *Una est veritas*. If A and B disagree, then either or both must be wrong. If A is right, B must be wrong ; but who told A that he was right ? And again, who made A the *veritatis vindex* ? A is a Protestant, B is a Roman Catholic, C is a Presbyterian, D is a Quaker, &c. ; but are we not all Irishmen ? *Cui bono* have been all our divisions ? Our want of confidence in, and respect for ourselves ?

I humbly beg leave to add, that if the warmest love of our Constitution, of King, Lords, and Commons, and most sincere hope that it may long last, to keep in good order these little Isles, that for centuries, have been the source of light, and knowledge, and civilization to the whole world, and an honest wish to remove all abuses, and to change subordinate matters from time to time, where needful, for time will roll on in spite of us, bringing more millions into the world, cor-

rupting the old, and calling for new institutions ; if these feelings entitle a man to call himself a Conservative, nobody has a better right to that name than the Author.

But where a man in any case must decide, whether of the two he is an Englishman or an Irishman, I will not hesitate to stand by the land of my birth.

In several cases I have put forward opinions not mine own, wishing to give every side fair play.

LONDON, MAY, 1843.

WHILE this book is in the press, the Government has made two wonderful mistakes. I say, wonderful—remembering the great political wisdom and experience of Sir Robert Peel ;—dismissing thirteen (more by this time) Irish magistrates for attending peaceable repeal meetings ; and bringing forward a very severe Irish Arms-bill. In calling for repeal of the Union, of an Act of Parliament not fifty years old, the Irish people do not wish to separate their country from the British empire, or themselves from allegiance to the Queen. In my humble opinion, Ireland is better as she is, for our shameful internal divisions that prevent us from enjoying the blessings of union, would still torment us, perhaps more fiercely, in a state of independence. But surely Irishmen have a good right to meet and discuss any question, especially when so much can be said in favour of Repeal, and very justly against the Union, both in its origin and in its fruits. The Anti-corn-law League, with far less reason and more violence, and, I may say, at the doors of a Parliament they try to overawe, are calling for the repeal of *their* obnoxious law, which, in its immediate consequences, would do far more injury than the repeal of the Union. The Arms-bill is an

infamous measure—quite useless as a protection to the loyal and peaceable man, yet a gross insult to a whole people. It comes from Judge Lefroy's observations last Tipperary assizes, on the *special* circumstances of that lawless county. Well—a stone was the instrument in the first murder-case that came before him! The time is long past when any government could *bona fide* put such a law in force: it would bring on a rebellion. Then why pass a law that must show your weakness? I have not a doubt but that these two irretrievable unfortunate steps will sooner or later turn out this ministry, that, two months ago, stood strong and firm as a rock, with immense majorities, in both Houses of Parliament.

LONDON, JUNE 1.

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CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF IRELAND.

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A TRAVELLER comes to see Ireland,—suppose an Englishman, or a Frenchman, or an American—what strikes him most in this strange country? Why, the poverty of the people; that the great masses of our countrymen are badly fed, clothed, and lodged, and will not raise themselves to the same rank in civilization as the foremost nations of our times, till they are much better fed, clothed, and lodged. Nay, more: that till the great body of the people, by a

more sure and liberal supply of the necessities of life, get a little relief from the pressure of every-day wants, there will not be a national basis for the fame of great men, for a fruitful and prosperous, a calm and polished literature, or an active and successful pursuit of the arts and sciences.

England and Scotland, the traveller would say, have a great stake in commerce and manufactures, and derive immense gains from their trade, spread all over the world. but Ireland depends wholly on her agriculture. Now, how does it happen that agriculture receives far less attention in Ireland, where it is of the first importance, than in Great Britain, where three of every four men all their lives need hardly know wheat from oats?

History certainly discloses political and religious causes that in times past have had a very bad effect on the people; but Ireland now enjoys the fullest political and religious liberty, and the self-interest that ought to be a very sufficient stimulus to put the land in a better state, and to increase its annual produce, has not more obstacles to contend with than in England or Scotland.

Is it possible, that though the surface of Ireland seems to be so wretchedly tilled, yet in the present circumstances of the country, the requisite outlay to put the farms into good order would not repay itself?—that the hopes of profit held out by Blacker, Smith, &c. would never come true?—that the Irish system lays out a and gets b , while the Scotch lays out A and gets B , where A and B are each a great deal more than a and b ; but the profit the same in both cases, or $b - a = B - A$.

Or when the traveller saw the populous tillage-land in the west of Ireland, and the wretchedness of the potatoe-fed people, would he be tempted to think, “the landlords, after all, must know their own interests best. It is impos-

sible that otherwise they could look on while year after year the people lived so wretchedly, and farmed their land so badly. The skill and intelligence awakened by a better agriculture, would of course raise the people's character in their own eyes, they would come by degrees to gain a little self-honour, and would not be satisfied to live like pigs. The land would give more, but the people themselves would consume more of its produce: so, where would be the gain to the landlord? 5 is not more when taken from 20, than when taken from 15. Besides, a poverty-stricken people are more easily managed; their number keeps up, by competition, the rent of land, and keeps down labour-wages."

The small Irish farmers, as a body, do no work upon their farms, unless it is immediately necessary, or will repay them within a year.

I wish to put the case in very plain terms, so that nobody may get up to question its truth, or accuse me of that horrible vice which has grown so common of late years in all kinds of discussion—I mean, exaggeration. I will put the case again, for my whole argument depends upon its truth.

The small Irish farmers, as a body, do no work upon their farms, unless it is immediately necessary, or will repay them within a year.

Now, the slightest knowledge of agriculture will show us that a country where a great deal of the land is in the hands of such men, must be the scene of a great deal of misery.

An Arab once crossed the track of a camel in the sandy desert; and, though he had not seen the animal, knew that it had run away from its master, that it carried honey, and was lame and old: for the track showed that the camel, instead of proceeding in a straight course, had visited and

loitered about every tuft of grass; these wanderings had shaken the burden, till drops of the honey had fallen out, and bees had gathered about them; then the footsteps were not of equal length, and where the camel had bitten the grass, some blades were not cut, which showed that some of his teeth had fallen out.

In the same way, if an intelligent American, or, to use their own phrase, a smart fellow, read in the paper, "that the small Irish farmers never did any work on their farms, except what was immediately necessary, or repaid itself within the year," and "that three-fifths of the whole surface of Ireland was in the hands of such men," he would at once know that the Irish were a poor, backward people. The smallness of the farms would show him that the great body of the people were poor, i.e. had not any capital but their own labour; while their hand-to-mouth mode of agriculture would tell him that they were either bad farmers and did not know any better, or that they had not fair play, and were under the hands of bad farmers, or that the farmer and landlord were both poor, which, God knows, is often the case. Still, if he thought a little more of the matter, it would puzzle him to make out why one or other of these two parties, or both together, did not borrow capital, on the security of the land, in order to improve their ground. With England alongside, where so much capital lies half idle, or at a very low rate of interest, or runs stark mad every now and then, to lose itself in South American mines, in Portuguese loans, and in every kind of folly all the world over, the Irishman's escape from his dilemma would seem so simple, that the American would half doubt the truth of what he had heard of the good quality of the land, and bad state of agriculture, or of the misery of the people. Or, perhaps, as philosophical Englishmen have

done already, he would say the Irish must have a natural love of dirt and poverty, an innate preference of potatoes and salt, with a red-herring hung from the roof to point at, to bread and beef; a distaste for all kinds of luxury; that they spent their lives in a kind of lent, a very black lent too, from mere choice, and must be born with dispositions that a monk of La Trappe might envy. Miserable indeed! They must be the happiest dogs on the earth; for they are so well satisfied with what they have got, that they will not take any more, though nature at their very doors offers to double their store.

Happy the Irish cottager! who day after day can walk across his rushy fields, can see the gaps in his ditches, his house without a door, his windows without glass, eat dry potatoes over a skib, see his wife and children in rags, and without shoes to their feet, and yet never feel the least wish to drain his field, to stop up his gaps, to put a door to his house, to put glass in his windows, to give his wife and children good clothes and shoes. There is true philosophy! Well, I hope this American will never see our philosopher stand like a beggar-man at his honour's door, with his hat in his hand, ready to tell any lie, or run into any meanness, to save his cattle for a few days from the bailiff's pound.*

Some people look upon Ireland as a great out-farm of England, a country rich in corn and cattle, whence cheap food in abundance will come to supply the millions crowded

* The law still gives the Irish landlord the power of "distress in kind" for debt of rent. In former times, perhaps, the rent of land required more help from the laws than common debts; but I hope that this law will not long disgrace our statute-book; landlords will be more careful in choice of tenants, when arrears of rent must be recovered like common money-debts with the expenses of law-courts. But surely, at the same time, the suits might be made quicker and cheaper.

closely in the great workshop of the world. As an ever-fruitful nursery of soldiers for the British armies, of cheap labourers for her great works; what Sicily was to Rome, what Hungary is to Austria; Ireland must be well governed, else these supplies will not be raised in abundance, or transmitted cheaply; but her political force must be wholly absorbed and used in the British machine. These men look upon Ireland and England less as members of the same united family, that might still keep in their own places, than as partners who throw their all into a common stock, which of course falls under the care and guardianship, and into the hands, of the richer and more powerful partner.

But happily some people, not dazzled by the monster of great wealth, and size, and power, the British empire has shot up into within the last fifty years; nor, on the other hand, led away by the specious and easily-exaggerated advantages of national independence, still believe Ireland to be well able to play a more honourable character in history, which can only be well developed by a much larger share of self-government than she possesses at this day. The same medicine can hardly be good for the diseases of the young and of the old body.

The same state-legislature can hardly do justice to England, drawing its wealth from all quarters of the globe, whose metropolis is the overgrown centre of the trade, and commerce, and money-business of the world; whose upper classes are more or less corrupted by luxury; whose millions depend for their daily bread on their labour-wages in manufactories that supply, or in commerce that deals in, the ever-changing wants of a most artificial civilization; and to a young vigorous country like Ireland, gaining strength every day by developing its own resources, without

colonies, commerce, or manufactures, depending wholly on its agricultural produce—springing up, too, in the midst of luxurious, worn-out nations, with the hopes, and freshness, and enthusiasm of youth. Political centralization must spread its net over people, that, sprung from the same blood and origin, can work in harmony in the same system; or else the cases of exception must be so few and weak in themselves, as to disappear in political importance in comparison with the body they belong to. But this is not, and never will be, the case in the ratio of Ireland to England. Ireland never will play the character of the moon to the sun of England. She is a star in herself, of her own light.

It is quite true that *divide et impera* has been the necessary title and maxim of England's policy to Ireland. But Scotland, that was formerly a kingdom in itself, gets on very well with England.

Scotland is the garret-story of the same house with England; a St. George's Channel does not run between Scotland and England. The Scotch and English are much the same in kind, only that the Scotch are less, and the English more. But the Irish and English are not the same in kind. Nature has cast their characters in different moulds. Ireland will never give herself up to the same heedless money-rage that has won for England the greatest colonies, commerce, and manufactories in the world. Her people will never be the rich, the busy, the ever-getting, never-enjoying, phlegmatic crowd, strongly stamped with all the mercantile virtues, and all the mercantile vices, that astonishes and shocks the man in the great cities of England.* Then

* There are now (1843) two million souls within five miles of St. Paul's. Yet a man may walk all across this monstrous head of the British empire, in the morning, or evening, or at the middle of the day, through the abodes of the rich, and noble, and idle, or of the poor, or of the merchants and

do you wish to repeal the Union? I wish I could, with safety and honesty, be what the honestest Irishmen were in 1801—a Repealer; but the time is not yet come: passions are too fierce still. But what true Irishman will not deplore the necessity of a measure that deprives Ireland of her best, her foremost men—that leaves her beautiful city of Dublin a metropolis of the poor, that otherwise might be the pleasant seat of a pure and polite civilization,* of

shopkeepers, and will not see in the whole way three men laughing heartily; a happy group on a balcony looking at the crowd; will not hear the chorus of a song, or any mirthful noise; will not hear any sound but what is paid for; but will meet innumerable men and women driving alone in their carriages; will meet a countless crowd plodding onwards with care written on their faces; but their homes in-doors are very happy? Why do Englishmen enjoy themselves so much abroad? Because, like birds out of a cage, or the mill-horse let loose from his work, they escape from the pressure of a rich unnatural civilization, and, like the people about them, can give way to their hearty natural feelings.

* Every man that has mingled much with the Irish people, knows that in their blood there is a fine and delicate sense of elegance, of the beautiful; their language is courteous and polite. If prosperity gave them ease, leisure, and abundance; and if home-self-government, with good political institutions, gave them self-respect in their own eyes, their civilization would unite the natural elegance of the French and Italians, with the manliness and honesty-at-heart of the English, without its bad manners, bad taste, and thoroughly plebeian wealth-worship, purse-pride, and awkward stiffness, and then would come the golden age of this Island of the West. The poverty of centuries has not broken down the Irish peasant into the savage brute, that every week is brought up at the English police-offices, that does not sometimes know his own name, and is just civilized enough to commit some horrible crime for the sake of money.

Excessive coldness of manner is the first and earliest stage in the Parvenu's negative code of politeness, who thus copies the least amiable feature in the manner of a true-born gentleman. Hence the coldness of English manners for the last thirty years, when almost every English family, and most of the peerage, have, in themselves, or their immediate members, touched the Aladdin's lamp of a gambling commerce. Old English manners, if we may judge from old plays, were far better and less

a young and hopeful literature; of the arts and sciences—flourishing under the auspices of a numerous and well-bred society, not dazzled and corrupted by the purse-proud glare of new-born wealth, ennobled, too, in its own eyes, by the companionship of a national legislature, zealously, at home and on the spot, overlooking the internal government of the country.

The truth must be told without reserve. The great bar to any measure of national independence, is the secession and non-co-operation of the Irish Protestants, by far the richest, and most powerful, and intelligent body of men in the kingdom. And why are the Irish Protestants willing to support the Union at any price? Because their interests can be better attended to in London than in Dublin? On the contrary, they know well that the majority of the House of Commons are under the influence of passions and necessities that will continually press them to look with jealousy on the prosperity of Irish agriculture, commerce, &c.; to keep Ireland as fast and as long as she can be of any use, for their own sakes, but never to let her keep herself or feel her own strength; besides, that if the House of Commons gives a *bonâ fide* deliberate attention to the political, commercial, and internal affairs of the three kingdoms, and of the British colonies, i. e. of the most wonderful, and most extensive, and most artificial political body that has ever been thrown together by time, a comparatively small country, like Ireland, cannot meet with that fair and dispassionate stiff, i. e., more like the good manners of well-bred French, Austrians, &c. All mercantile people are cold: the Venetians were cold to a proverb. These wintry manners require to be well and warmly clad in wealth; and, bad enough anywhere, look very bad in company with a short purse. On this side the channel we are not yet rich enough for the spleen. Yet is it possible that any of our Irish gentlemen wish to imitate the dry tone and cold manners of the commercial English?

superintendence she both deserves and requires. The House will be full enough, the debate long and violent enough on some Irish party question, which happens to be the chosen arena of struggle between English parties; but otherwise, how little attention can Ireland meet with! It is very necessary that the supreme government, whether in the hands of a despot, or of king, lords, and commons, should from one spot overlook the foreign policy of the whole empire, all that relates to war and peace; but surely the internal government of a country ought to be wholly in its own hands. The quota of public money to be paid by each country toward the general expense, must be settled by their deputies in committee, but afterwards leave each country to raise its quota in its own way. Shame upon the Irishman who believes that his countrymen would never agree among themselves; could be always bought by English gold or rank; would be worse governors of their own country than the Scotch and English, who, like lookers-on, see more of the game, without feeling its anxiety.* Ireland cannot look back with much pleasure or satisfaction on its past history, while in the hands of England.† If, under her own Houses of Lords and Commons, she falls at some future day into distress, discontent cannot raise any comparison with a better past—"Oh, that we still sat by the flesh-pots of Egypt!" could never be the cry. Let our faults be our own; let the cause of our distress lie in

* Again, remember that in 1801, the Irish House of Commons were the deputies of a dominant sect; that the great body of the people were not represented by members of their own faith; i.e. the House had all the violent faults of its false position. An Irish House of Commons now would vote on the broad basis of the whole people, and would, of course, have a much stronger hold on their affections, and would not be obliged, in its weakness, to look across the water for support.

† Governed for centuries by the richest, "most liberal and enlightened" kingdom in the world, potatoes and salt is still the breakfast, dinner, and supper of the great mass of the people.

our own measures—the remedy must lie within reach of the same hands. Why should Irishmen be disheartened by the violence of our religious disunion? Religion, in the moral, like heat in the physical world, may join as firmly as it divides sharply. Religion dies into indifference without antagonism. Yet a strong sense of religious feeling is the most active principle of life in a nation. Thus, how much do the advantages on the side of religious disunion—even with its children, blind bigotry and civil strife—outweigh the dead, sterile waste of German indifference !

If all the Irish were Protestants, their church would soon grow corrupt and idle, and a large body of dissenters would spring up. If all Roman Catholics, the same, with more ignorance, and the same consequence ; or else the people would become cold and indifferent to either, as in Germany ; or at heart disgusted with all, as in France ; or grossly ignorant, and awake only to sensible impressions, as in Italy ; or a little of all, and not much of any, under the overwhelming influence of the money-rage, as in America. The Protestant church would certainly be stripped of its possessions in the south and west by an Irish Parliament, i.e. where it has officers without men. Common sense revolts at the folly, in any case, of supporting priests without flocks ; which becomes an injustice, if the people must support priests they will not listen to.* Posterity will be at a loss, some fifty

* Most of the soil of Ireland, says the Protestant casuist, belongs to Protestant landlords. The rent-roll of Ireland is about seven millions, and probably not more than one million is paid to Roman Catholics : therefore the country only supports its own church, i.e. of the landlords. But the argument is too absurd. The Protestant acres might, with some reason, determine to choose only Protestant land-stewards or agriculturists ; but surely the clergymen are not for the acres, but for the people. But, says a Protestant landlord, May I not do what I like with mine own ? what hardship to my Roman Catholic tenants, *a, b, c, &c.* to pay tithes, i.e. to pay so much a year, which they willingly offered to pay when they took my farm, and which would otherwise not stay in their pockets, but come into mine. Nay, Squire, even if the tenants did not pay tithes to the Protestant

years hence, to discover the strange combination of circumstances that, in spite of reason, of civil and religious liberty, of political justice and expediency, have so long kept up the Irish Church possessions; or how it could be doubted for a minute whether the State had not a full disposable right in all public monies gathered in its name—in case of resistance, by its forces—for public uses, *e.g.* the public services of religion.

But Ireland is very quiet now, says the short-sighted observer, who judges by what happens to be the appearance of the moment. Why speak of a question that has given us so much trouble, and is now fallen asleep?—Aye, fallen asleep to be awakened, like a giant refreshed, with the first disorder in the British empire. There are the Irish clergy, and there are their empty churches. That is the whole pith of the case. Do not touch any man's income; but at his death, do not put an officer in his place, to live idly and uselessly; above all, do not pollute the holy name of religion, commanding love to God and charity to men, by taxing a people to support not their priests, but your own. The state says, Here are clergymen, good excellent men. They are right; your own clergymen are wrong. The clergyman, the money would not come into your pockets. Why? Because the tax is not voluntary on your part; your land must pay tithes. The tax is public money, and not a portion of the landlord's rent. If the landlord might or might not pay tithes, just as he chose, and in letting his farms said, "You will pay so much of your rent to me, and so much to my clergyman;" then, of course, the country, *i.e.* the body politic, could not blame him in the least degree. And at this day, it is not the tenant but the country that complains of tithes. The tenant has not the least right to complain of being obliged to fulfil his own voluntary obligation, which he can release himself from at any time by giving up his farm. But the country does complain of supporting the church of the small minority. The landlord has not a shadow of title to the tithes; and who distributes the public money? Not the acres, but the people by their deputies. It happens that our laws do not say, every 100 or 1,000 acres shall send a member to Parliament; but has wisely mixed up numbers of people, and possession of wealth, into the true diagonal of political force.

doors of their churches are open to receive you. But whether you listen to them or not, you must pay them.

Nay, reply the people, support what churches and what clergymen you like out of your own pocket; it will doubtless be a pleasure to you to support these gentlemen whom you speak so highly of; but we like civil and religious liberty as well as yourselves, and will not listen to or support, unless compelled by force, any clergy but our own.

The Irish (Protestant) clergy are a most excellent body of men, the most enlightened class in Ireland; their place in society is much higher than their brethren in England; from their wealth and local importance, in the absence of many landlords, the physical sufferings and gross ignorance of the lower classes, have called forth a kindness of sympathy, an active benevolence, that stamps their character everywhere; the mantle of Usher, Bedel, or Berkely, might fall on many worthy shoulders; they are, in every sense of the word, a class of Christian gentlemen spread over the whole kingdom. Their church was perhaps never in better order than at this day. The princely benevolence and kindness of heart of the primate, and the wise, active, and enlightened philanthropy of the Archbishop of Dublin, are lamps in high places, that must kindle a similar light in many men; still, who does not feel in his heart that a state-church is quite in a false position, where its temples are not full of people? and that, let outside appearance be smooth as it may be, still the people, the government, the institutions of Ireland will never work well and heartily together, till the possessions of the Protestant church are fairly cut down to the wants of its own believers.

But why agitate a question that, you will allow, is not just now much in discussion?

Why, the very best time for an honest measure, is when

the people are not in a political fever, and can think calmly of its consequence. The church will never reform itself, not if its abuses were ten times as great as they are. The church, both in England and Ireland, opposed with all its might all the measures of its reform passed since the peace, and which have raised its character so much in the eyes of the people, that for sheer want of a good excuse, the dissenters in England are decreasing in number every year. Did any grown-up society of men ever reform itself, except in the short and generous enthusiasm of some political crisis, when an overwhelming sense of danger took for a while its attention off its sordid interests? Thus the nobles of Denmark gave up their political rights in favour of an absolute king; the Lutheran clergy of Norway vote away half the church-estates to the state; but of all professions the church shows the least willingness to let go what has once come into its hands.

The same bold eternal phrases of cant will stretch to excuse any system. Once lose sight of reason, and you may as well take much as little. But what a much better chance would the Irish church have of extending its faith, if its members were not at heart conscious of the wide gulf between its practice and its principles? a great many clergymen, and a large body of laymen, at Exeter Hall and elsewhere, are continually holding up the gross folly and absurdity of Popes; and at the same time confessing, that in spite of the zeal and energy of the Irish church, supported by temporal possessions that once supplied all the Irish people with religious services, in spite of the favour of government, yet Popery, that in the days of Elizabeth only reckoned a few thousand mountaineers, dissenters too more from political than religious motives, with a price set on the head of their priests, obliged to shun the light of day—that this poor and despised faith drew by degrees to itself

the great mass of the people, shook off by mere force of number, and with the applause of every friend of civil and religious liberty, the penal laws, and now stands face to face on equal terms with its rich and younger sister, still preserving in the daylight of liberty the same affectionate hold on its flocks, that it won in times of trouble and distress ; bringing them forward too as warm and as unanimous in their faith, as their forefathers in the middle ages, while every body around them is torn asunder by dispute, or undermined by doubt ; and governing its millions in the voice of parental authority, unsupported by wealth, or the state, or fashion, while interest alone, mere sordid interest, is elsewhere put forward and acknowledged to be the only just link between power and obedience.

Why what opinion can a man have of human nature, who, with the picture of Ireland for the last three centuries before him, sees the religion said to be true and pure always losing ground with every temporal advantage in its favour ; and the religion said to be false, absurd, and immoral, continually gaining ground ? Are men fools, thus to turn away from the light ? If so, many men have erred in their judgment, in a matter too of the highest importance to themselves, and with the truth so clearly, so forcibly put before them ; how weak must be man's judgment ! Here is a well-paid company, pressing men to join the rich, the noble of the land, and enter their gates ; yet millions turn aside, and choose to support at their own expense, in comparative poverty and obscurity, their own actors. Surely we must acknowledge that many stones must have been hung about the neck of Truth, else she would never have sunk so low.

The laymen of the Irish church are by far the richest body of men in Ireland ; and, where the number of believers

in their faith did not, in the eyes of the state, call for a clergyman, could easily, very easily, support their own.

The division of a people into various faiths is a great evil in many ways : i. e. it is impossible for the state to give that people the same chance of happiness, as if all lived heartily in the same faith. Then perhaps the way our state meets this division (supporting one only of the many faiths) is attended with the least disadvantage. Very well, let the state give its support all to a particular faith, while it *can* oblige all the rest of the people to contribute towards what they do not use. In the circumstances of Ireland the state might easily, and by degrees, provide for the public religious services of the Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians, in all places where any of these branches of Christianity had a large congregation. All the rest might be left to the internal disposition of each church, whose ministers and officers would of course be an easy channel for the distribution of the gifts of its followers to this purpose.

Ceteris paribus, the Roman Catholic priest, as a bachelor, could live upon less pay than any married clergyman.

But the Roman Catholic priests would not take state-pay, although in France, Germany, and Austria, the treasury pays them? Very well—all the better for our treasury. “Priests’ salaries, paid quarterly, if not called for within a month after each date, will be put back into the treasury.” Of course the state would recognize the priest put in by his own church; the same in the case of the Protestants and Presbyterians. The state only need see that the congregation is large enough to require in its opinion a fixed minister.

Of course a terrible outcry would be raised against any plan of this kind by the Protestant clergymen, whose confi-

dence in the force and ultimate success of truth, has never led them to despise the solid advantages of good fixed incomes gathered by the law of the land.

Still its own justice, its simple and impartial justice, would very soon make way with people of all classes. Religion is falling. What !—did your religion stand then upon your money? There is an *argumentum ad verecundiam*, that would put these clergymen to silence.

Government is against the Protestants. What !—are not all your bishops and clergymen in the north of Ireland, and in all the large cities, in every place, where there are any people to listen to them, well paid out of the treasury? But the Roman Catholic priests are paid too.—Well, what is our government, but the focus of our own wishes, represented by our deputies in parliament. Now, if all creeds can pay taxes and sit in parliament, is it not fair that the moneys raised from the whole people for religious services, should be distributed again to the different creeds in ratio to their respective numbers.

It has been thrown in the teeth of Sir R. Peel, and of many statesmen of the day, that they decide questions of this kind by the test of expediency; but as long as civil and religious liberty is the happy motto of our mixed government; as long as every man can worship God as he pleases, and, still better than this negative liberty, is not anywhere stopped in the pursuit of honour as a citizen, by the profession of any religious opinion; so long will state-religious-support, to this creed only, or to this and that creed only, or to all alike, and of what kind, and in what ratio, be a question of mere public convenience. If the state supported two creeds in ratio to their numbers, and if the members paid an unequal average of taxes, for example, if the less numerous had the richer members, it would not, in

this case, receive back again as much as it paid into the treasury, and the rest of its taxes would be paid to the more numerous and poorer creed.

But is not religion of the same importance to every man, king or peasant, rich or poor? and should not the state only support such religious institutions as are of the first necessity; leaving the believers, in ratio to their zeal and wealth, and of their own free choice, to add what further expenses they pleased in keeping up their respective modes of worship, and out of their own pockets?

It is very delightful to observe how sensibly and calmly a lawyer or a soldier will speak of abuses in the church; how little prejudice stands in the way of his judgment. They acknowledge at once the absurdity of state-incomes for shepherds without sheep, of the innumerable sinecures in Deaneries, Chapters, &c. How dispassionately do they point out the folly of the apostolical succession of the Puseyites—of the shallow zeal of the saints! The sympathy of a soldier in an army that sells its commissions, will excuse in his eyes a church that sells a good many of its “cures of souls;” but the lawyer will think that the highest bidder may not be the best priest. Again, a soldier and a clergyman, how sharply will they speak of lawyers—men without conscience, that play into their own hands, and cut out their own work by their incomprehensible and innumerable forms of words, that give law instead of justice! But hint a word to a lawyer, or a clergyman, or a soldier, of faults in his own profession, and in nine cases out of ten—“Why, it would seem so at first; but it has always been done this way, and works well. Besides, my dear sir, you cannot change everything; age is honourable, even in its faults; practice is better than theory,” &c.

Religious controversy between Protestants and Roman

Catholics has been carried further, with more zeal and ability in Ireland, than in any country. Yet, the Protestants remain Protestants, and the Roman Catholics remain Roman Catholics: a very slight change certainly takes place from time to time amongst the poor, and orphans, by marriage, &c.; but who can say which side the balance leans to? Both parties have set at work every tool of controversy, speeches, meetings, pamphlets, house-visitors, schools, &c. Surely people should begin to see that the difference does not lie within any argument, or on data that can possibly be brought home to the reason; otherwise men must be fools: for the Roman Catholics have read and heard all that the Protestants have got to say, and yet cannot see any error in their own views; or else men, millions of men, from father to son, for centuries, must be knaves, who, like the poet who said of himself,

Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor,

cling heartily to errors that they see clearly; and lose their souls, not in ignorance, but from mere spite. The Copernican system, for a long time, was disbelieved by orthodox members of the Church of Rome. The Pope's persecution of its great author gave that church every reason to continue in this disbelief. But reason won the day: *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit*; and everybody now believes that the earth moves round the sun. It would require too much time to develop these views in this place: suffice to say, that an experience of three centuries proves that the errors which an English churchman sees in Roman Catholic doctrines, and a Roman Catholic in the doctrines of the English church, are not of that kind that come within the circle of man's reason.

A doctrine of a revealed religion cannot, like a moral or political-theory, be judged by its practical effects; *e.g.* Are people happier under a republican, or monarchical government? To answer this question, a man would compare what he had seen himself, and what history told us, in examples of both cases. But did our Saviour at his last supper say, that in all future time, in all countries, when certain priests on certain occasions should give pieces of bread to certain people, these pieces of bread would be miraculously changed into pieces of his own body, and these pieces of his own body would miraculously look like pieces of bread? A and B read the Gospels as the will of God. From its letter, A thinks our Saviour did say so, B thinks he did not; and they cannot refer the question to any third party in the world, or to any collateral witnesses of any kind. The point in dispute is, whether a particular fact did or did not take place about 2,000 years ago; but not whether, from its character, it is likely that it happened, or, whether in its fruits it could be of any use to man, or the contrary, &c.; and if all the evidence in the Gospels and Epistles, that can be brought to bear upon this point, seems to a man born a Roman Catholic to say Yes, and to a man born a Protestant to say No; and that millions and millions of reasonable men have been in both these cases, does not charity oblige us—compel us, to believe that it must ever remain an open question, for want of sufficient evidence? Else, if all the men on one side for three centuries, with all the possible evidence before their eyes, (for time cannot reveal any more,) and in a matter too of great importance to themselves, that got their best attention, still come to a wrong judgment; why, how can the human judgment then be trusted on any point?

But surely the most shallow observer must see, that

though difference in doctrine is necessary to keep up the wide chasm between the two churches, still that this difference of doctrine would be let sink into an allowable and an internal difference of opinion between man and man, but for the still wider difference of animus in their constitutions. The Catholic church is a kind but severe father, addressing its flocks as its children, commanding them by its authority to believe so and so. It does not say, judge for yourselves whether I am right or not, but boldly claims from God a supreme authority over the religious faith of mankind, as inheritor, by regular succession from our Saviour's time, of all the authority possessed by the apostles. But the Protestant church addresses grown-up man, not through his affections, but his reason. It says, Listen to me, and I can prove to you, that what I believe is right.

It follows, that the more any Protestant church rests on authority and not on reason, the more will its constitution resemble the Catholic church, and the more will the differences of doctrine between them sink into comparative insignificance, and that therefore every pretension of the Protestant church to speak more and more *ex cathedra*, tends to lessen its distance from the Catholic church.

Faith is of too subtle, of too generous a nature, to try its old and favourite views by the cold rules of reason. A man's faith is half-fled, ere he will stoop to look about for a reason for what he has fondly, fully believed from his childhood upwards. How weak does our mind appear, how feeble its boasted judgment, yet how strong and generous its grasp, when we see that the child is father of the man in so great a matter as religion ! The mind of a child, like the liquid lava, can be moved easily to and fro, will seize the best as well as most foolish things, just what comes, good or bad ; but growing cold with age, will hold alike these trifles and

these good impressions, and, besides, is as little willing to receive any more, any new, 'as to give up what it has already got. It must be broken in pieces, before it will give up; it must be melted anew in the fire, before it will receive.

Hence religious changes will only take place on a large scale in the fervid heat of great civil excitement. Hence the necessary excuse for much that was done at the Reformation.

Hence the want of success, if the smith strikes while the metal is cold—if the priest tries to persuade men that they and their families and fathers have been grossly mistaken all their lives, till the surrounding overwhelming violence of popular enthusiasm, kindled into a revolution, drives from their thoughts their affectionate family feelings, their family pride, and the thousand ties that bind a man's flesh and blood even to his ancestor's errors. Quite right, says the priest. The iron, we know, is still cold; but we are busy heating the furnace. Might not that work be left to higher hands?

It is possible to imagine in the course of time that the Greek, English, and Roman Catholic churches will all join by mutual advances: the constitution of the Greek church is just the same as the Roman Catholic; hence its strength; and the difference in doctrine is slight: the English church has inherited all its strength from the Roman Catholic, and tries to stand in its shoes. Political and national prejudice, love and fear, and selfish personal interest, have very much helped to keep them asunder. These passionate elements of discord will of course lose their strength, and die away in time. If Christianity is to be kept up by a church, that is, a regular body of men set apart from the rest of the world for its religious services, and appointed in succession,

it is quite plain that there can only be one such body, and for many reasons that body is the Roman Catholic. Men will only acknowledge a 'capo del mundo' in Rome, or 'authority' in the head of the most ancient religious order. But probably a great body of Christians, as knowledge becomes more equally diffused with the progress of civilization, will cease to see much analogy between the state-priesthoods of the day and the great apostles (missionaries) necessarily sent through the Jewish and Heathen people by our Saviour, to preach his new doctrines; or to find any express command in his word to keep up a regular clergy in the midst of a Christian people, or to acknowledge that Christianity from its nature stands in need of or can get any assistance from their services.

Men will think that the church's claim on obedience depends upon its use, and upon the circumstances of the people; that its office is to mould into good order the rude chaos of mankind, to give them good institutions, to lay the basis of true civilization, in short, to educate the nations; but that in time, as it discharges these functions, and as it is not a divinely-appointed institution for ever, its authority decreases with its use, till at last good civil institutions in well-disciplined nations supply the place of its civil services, and men can supply themselves with their own religious services. Thus professing Christians will be (1) churchmen under the Pope; (2) simply Christians without any church. What is called 'the Puseyite controversy' shows very clearly the struggle of conscience in English churchmen between believing that there can only be one 'church,' and that that church is the Roman Catholic, and still wishing, from difference of doctrine, to keep in the church of England.

Bicheno, in his 'Economy of Ireland,' says, with as much

truth as eloquence, "the system of authority (the Roman Catholic) derived through the affection and not through the reason, is the oldest and most universal. It has developed the noblest character of man. It has carried the social virtues to their highest pitch, and has crushed the selfish vices. It has nourished honourable feelings, generosity to the oppressed, charity to the poor, protection to women, and has enabled men to exercise the most extraordinary self-denial. Its liturgy is almost wholly devotional. Its sermons not critical and argumentative, but addressed to the heart." "A people that has made little progress in a reasonable system of thought and action, like the Irish, and continues to indulge in clannish feelings, i. e. their passions, is not fit to be Protestant."

It will be very far from the author's wishes to step within the bitter circle of religious controversy, which from the strong resemblance of the Roman and the English Catholic churches, has been kept up with all the violence of a family quarrel.

Surely every man must acknowledge that the welfare of Ireland depends very much on the clergy of the former church, who lay their hands on six millions of her people.

Surely Christian charity and sympathy with so many countrymen ought to give the internal state of that church much interest in every Irishman's eyes. We must remember that it possesses a wonderful sway over its believers; that these six millions, like so many children, listen to its voice, as to the commands of a father; that besides the high religious authority of their office, circumstances have given its priests great civil and political influence. Condemn its doctrines as warmly, as strongly as you please, still you must admit that it is most desirable to see so powerful a machine in the hands of a well-bred, high-minded clergy,

aware of their very responsible place; else how can these priests refrain from abusing the servile confidence of their flocks, and an obedience that lays itself at their feet? If the Roman church has sinned grievously against man, how nobly has it atoned for many of its errors! In times past, when it laid the basis of Christendom, of these noble political institutions of Europe, that time has ripened to become the chosen seat of liberty and civilization—what faith did it breathe into whole nations—what sacrifices did it not urge them to—in what bold relief stand forth its men and women, obeying its voice with a zeal that seems miraculous in these headstrong selfish times! If it has taken much, it has also given much. Its priests cannot marry—what social pleasures do they not lose, in that one word? Their, life from childhood to death is by themselves, not in the world; and everywhere their humble zeal has been repaid by the affectionate love of the common people.

Where is the Christian faith, that, many centuries ago, built all over England, the great Catholic churches—that, as they stand up high and dark in our country landscapes, (signs of amazing labour offered to Faith, by the side of our amazing works for Gain,) may be called the gigantic fossil-bones of the middle ages? that mixed itself up with all the domestic affairs of life? Surely, of all men in the world, an Englishman should hesitate to speak ill of the Roman church! From time immemorial there seems to have been a warm sympathy of feeling between the Romans and our countrymen. Whether merely the fruit of a similar character, strong, and resolute, and proud, or a fate of providence, or with a view to political assistance, certainly Rome has always looked upon this island with peculiar affection. A day in every week is, I believe, now set apart to pray for our conversion; all through Italy, a

kind of *vox dei* has spread itself with the people, that great changes will take place in the relations between England and Rome. Who that has seen the best side of the Roman character, that knows the wisdom, the fatherly benevolence, that in the weakness of old age just verges upon cunning, the long-sightedness, the personal sincerity, of the great body of their clergy, that freely throws its time, and money, and honour, its life and death, at the feet of the church, and knows that time has stamped their character deeply into their church, but must regret that a chasm, wide as the ocean, separates two people that might so well be friends. Within a few years, England will probably send a minister to represent its government at the court of Rome, which city about 20,000 English pass through every year, and break not the letter but the spirit of our law in using the Hanoverian minister's services, when taken to the pope. This measure would of course be very agreeable to the feelings of the English and Irish Catholics, and certainly every man must allow, that the more closely they copy the wisdom of Rome, the more deeply they drink of its forbearance, the better for their country.

Populus vult decipi et decipiatur—is, I firmly believe, the rule at heart of the Roman Catholic church, where it can speak in high places, with civil as well as religious authority.

And when the English traveller, with the never-ending, still-beginning toil of the lower classes of his own countrymen still ringing in his ears, remembering how much of their affectionate happiness has been worn away by too close a devotion to gain; how often the mere sustenance of life calls for labours that turn their liberty in theory into ridicule, and are not lightened as in olden times by the comforts of religious sympathy; how often must this tra-

veller in Italy, in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, in the Tyrol, in Austria, with so many happy people before him, of simple manners as in old times, cherishing old ways and habits, not from discontented poverty that would copy the new if it could, but from love; so many communities bound together by the most affectionate ties between every class, between king and people, father and son, master and servant, priest and flock, and that have raised the whole country as one man against its enemies, displaying so much heart, so much innocence, so much faith, so much happiness, but must be tempted to say of the wonderful religious machine that sways the mind of man in all these countries—

“Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis (pity) to be wise.”

Too long for Ireland's peace have Protestant and Roman Catholic priests behind the scenes pulled the strings of every step taken by the people; not a measure has been passed by any government, but one or other of these actors have held up a stained glass between the people's eyes and its fruits.

So much religious cant, loudly appealing to our best feelings, to our reason for our own sakes, while their own interest is known to be the *causa prima*, has disgusted opinion; that in matters of less importance, as the civil and political, listens with a sceptical ear to the best and foremost men.

The most Orange Irish gentlemen will readily deplore over their wine the political necessity, the fruit of innumerable circumstances in times past, of running so much against the grain of reason,—the state supporting the church of one of several sets of men, whose political privileges are all equal, and that church not the most numerous.

The matter will then be put on its true ground, not (as before the people,) the necessity of supporting truth against error, by clothing truth in a rich dress, for every body knows that truth when unadorned is, like beauty, adorned the most; and that, as experience shows, especially in Ireland, state-support is more likely to smother than extend religious faith; but on the ground of its political utility to the constitution. And the gentlemen will oppose or recommend a change, as they happen to think that a reasonable alteration in its position with the state would or would not bring about great changes in our political institutions.

If the Roman Catholic chiefs did not frighten the landlords, indeed all classes of their countrymen, by the force of sympathy in a common danger, to stand by the Irish church possessions, the lay members of the Irish church would very willingly see changes made that would be of the greatest use to themselves and their children, as holders of the largest stake in Ireland's fortunes, in the prosperity that always accompanies civil peace.

But surely these fears are just, when the noxious influence of a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam can stand between a populous diocese and the three best, most generous institutions of the day. His people are the poorest, the most ignorant and abased, in Ireland, yet this archbishop will not let the children attend schools, that it is now needless to praise, not, as is the case with some of the Irish clergy, to send them to his own, but to keep them in blank ignorance:—a law for relieving the poor is passed by men of all parties, wholly and *bonâ fide* to give the destitute shelter, the hungry food, the orphan a home, the aged an asylum; yet this archbishop of a most charitable church moves heaven and earth to turn this medicine into

poison :—an extreme poverty in despair drives thousands to bury their cares in the madness of drink, keeping themselves and their families on the verge of destitution ; yet this archbishop of a church that binds its clergy, and monks, and nuns, by an oath not to marry, will not allow an excellent priest to meet this special case by binding the people by an oath not to drink. There is the Irish Roman Catholic church of to-day, in the example of a man whose influence over his Roman Catholic countrymen shows that their views are in full harmony with his own. The history of the middle ages cannot disclose an example of worse exercise of authority, or (I ask any Irishman that has travelled in that diocese) that has borne worse fruits !

CHAP. II.

LAND-LETTING.

NATURE OF AN IRISHMAN'S LOVE OF HIS FARM.
 LORD CLEMENT'S OPINION OF IRISH LANDLORDS.
 ENGLISH AND IRISH MODES OF LETTING LAND.
 DISADVANTAGES OF THE ENGLISH MODE.
 IRREGULAR LAND-LETTING IN IRELAND.
 MEANNESS OF IRISH AGRICULTURE.
 CHI VA PIANO, VA SANO,—MOTTO FOR IRISH LANDLORDS.
 LEASES.
 LAND-APPRAISERS MUCH WANTED.
 THE SCOTCH CORN-RENT.
 SMALL *versus* LARGE FARMS.
 CABINETS D'AISANCE, AND TOWN-SEWERS.

THE great mass of the people in Ireland are farmers in name, by birth and by necessity, and not by choice. The son succeeds the father in his old farm, as a matter of course. A farm is taken as a dwelling-place, not as a commercial enterprise. It would be easy to show the cause in the circumstances of the country, if our attention lay that way.

But how strongly does the Irish peasant cling to his bit of land. Then, a stranger would say immediately, it must be the great delight of his life to improve and adorn what he feels so much attached to. Quite the contrary. He wishes to live there always, but cares very little how he is

fed or lodged. He fancies that if he improves the land, builds up the fences, and puts all in good order, the rent will be raised, to meet the full increase of value. So what will he gain? Still more, he fears that in a bad year, in low prices, it would be far more difficult to pay a high rent out of a good farm, than the low rent out of his bad farm. Thus his very love of land, a feeling that might be so easily, so usefully guided to improve the country, is unhappily and ingeniously turned to give himself an excuse for idleness, to breed suspicion in his mind, and render him by degrees incapable of any zealous exertion.

These views give us a clue to reconcile his laziness on his own farm, and his hard work for paltry wages. He knows that in the latter case he will get wages for his labour—but fears that if he tills his farm beyond the common run of the country, his landlord will call for a higher rent, and enjoy the fruits of his sweat.

If a man of this kind gets a lease for (suppose) 21 years, and under the value, it never will occur to him to work his farm as well as possible, and lay by some money out of the profits, that if at the end of the lease the landlord raises the rent higher than he chooses to pay, he will possess wherewithal to take a farm elsewhere.

Lord Clements, in his “Irish Agriculture,” says—“An Irish landlord is supposed to look after his estate from motives of philanthropy only. This idea has led both landlords and tenants into the most fatal errors. The landlords who help their tenants meet with the most boundless gratitude, but sometimes lay claim to that recompense in a way that jars with the feelings of the people, and a grating discord is the consequence, which in the end drives them from the country in disgust. In a word, the connexion between landlord and tenant (speaking

generally and nationally) has never been put on its right principle, mutual self-interest. Bad landlords have been hated as tyrants, instead of being despised as fools. Good landlords have been adored as philanthropists, instead of being respected as wise men." *

There are several very different modes of letting farms of land.

When a farm in England falls into the landlord's hands, the farm-house, and offices, and roads, the field-gates and fences, in short, all fixtures, are put in good repair at his own expense. Custom obliges him not only to put them in good repair for the in-coming tenant, but to keep them so. But the landlord gets a *quid pro quo* for every penny laid out in a higher rent. An English farmer will not take a bare farm even at a less rent; because it was not the custom of his forefathers, and English farmers always follow custom. Because he would rather pay interest for his landlord's capital, than lay out his own, which he wants in order to stock his farm.

An English landlord gets rent for land, offices, house, &c.; all help to swell the rent. An Irish lets only the bare surface of the soil. Both fully agree in getting the highest rent for the use of their property, though the English landlords have been often praised at the expense of our own, for keeping farm-fixtures in repair, as if the free bounty of his will, and not the commonest self-interest obliged them to do what English landlords did not do in the time of Elizabeth, when England was cut up into small farms in the hands of poor people, as Ireland is now, and which the growth of the same circumstances in Ireland

* The author has left out some of the words, but has given the whole meaning of the passage. Every Irish country-gentleman must know many examples of its truth.

(abundance of small capital, less competition between farmers for land, and *more competition between landlords for tenants*,) will oblige Irish landlords to do within the next fifty years.

If our landlords built comfortable houses, good offices, &c., on the small farms, (that, for example, the tillage-land in Connaught is cut up into,) and tried to satisfy wants that do not yet exist in our peasantry, it is not likely that the class of men who take these small farms would be willing or able to give them a fair interest for their money.

In spite of the prosperous state of English agriculture, (which is not, we think, due to their mode of letting land,) we much prefer our own (which is not, we also think, in any degree a cause of our backward agriculture,) *as far as it goes*; i. e., that the landlord should only let, and get rent for the land; but freely acknowledge that as carried on at this day all over Ireland, it is very full of faults.

The great prosperity of the English landlords during the war, and their abundance of capital, urged them to seize the occasion that this custom gave them, of laying out a great deal of money on their tenants' farms, as in immense barns and offices, which their heirs to this day expect to get interest for in a higher rent, though the improvements in agriculture, especially in its machines, have made them of very little use, so that agriculture in England has been of late years very much kept back, and embarrassed, by the farmers' unwillingness to get beyond and give up the use of fixtures, that cost so much: while the Scotch farmers, adopting eagerly every successive change for the better, have been at much less expense.

Disadvantages of this kind will always attend a system that *does not leave every outlay in the hands of the men in*

the trade, who are far the best judges of what suits their own interests. Besides, what a helpless, stupid, class of men has this system brought up in the English farmers!

It is a great pity that land is not let in Ireland by some general rules, that both parties might know beforehand—

1st. On what data the rent of the farm would be made up.

2d. At what periods, without change of tenantry in the same family, these data would be again inquired into for a new rent.

3d. On what data the out-going tenant, or the heirs of a tenant at his death, would be repaid by the landlord, for the money's worth that must of necessity be left on their farm.

The country has a good right to hope, that the relationship between landlord and tenant will soon be adjusted, so that the very most will be got out of the land; to share the produce between themselves is a private matter, but a misunderstanding between the men who let, and the men who hire the land of a populous country, which, in consequence, and in the mean time, gives very scanty crops, is of serious injury to the commonwealth.

What a rich country would Ireland soon become, if a young man setting out in life, could take a farm, with the view of gaining his livelihood by his skill and industry in its management, and knew that the more he laid himself out to improve the land and increase its fruits, the better it would be for himself and family; who could spend his labour freely, and in full confidence, that the sweat of his brow was not lost in sowing what a stranger might reap; who could feel sure that his industry and labour would repay him as well in his farm, as if spent in any trade; or that if any misfortune came upon him, its cause did not lie in the least degree in his connexion with his landlord.

Ireland is wholly an agricultural country; but how little of the cheerfulness, of the abundance, how few of the merry festivities of agriculture, are to be seen in our fields and villages! Everywhere what poverty and meanness, what shifts from day to day, what wretched hovels, what ragged fields, shock the eye! Where are the happy homes of a sturdy, well-fed, well-clad, honest peasantry? Where are they? I ask in the name of our high civilization, of our polite manners, of our religious zeal, how are the great mass of the people fed, and clothed, and lodged? I believe the wages of labour never were so low as at this day, if we measure them in food; a man works hard eleven hours in the day, and cannot afford to eat either bread or meat; though, thanks to machinery, our labourers are better clothed than formerly, still their food is far worse.

A Highland chief had injured his health so much by drinking whisky, that he was obliged to send for a physician. It was easy to see that whisky was the cause of his illness, but the shock of sudden abstinence would have killed him. The physician—who luckily had more common sense than half his profession—let him take his usual number of glasses every day, but on the solemn promise, that he would always use the same glass, and let fall a drop of sealing-wax into the glass every time, which held less and less every day, so that the old drunkard was cured of his bad habits by easy degrees, and with safety to himself. Where so much must be done and undone, “*chi va piano va sano*,” is the best motto for the landlord.

It is impossible to say what the Irish peasantry were some hundred years ago, or what they will be some hundred years hence; but certainly, as they are at this day, they do not, in most cases, do well when left to themselves, but require the just and steady hand of a landlord over

them, to urge them on; for the great mass of the people live outside the pale of our civilization, and do not feel its stimuli to industry, because they have never felt its pleasures.

Every Irish country-gentleman must know many cases in his own county, of lands set under long leases, and at very low rents, which are the worst tilled in the neighbourhood. The lessee probably holding a few acres himself, and sub-letting the rest at the very highest rack-rent to miserable cottiers. Examples of this kind are always alluded to, when the conversation runs upon leases, to warn landlords of their uselessness. But leases were formerly taken out by the tenant, to save him from a higher rent *in case of higher prices*; and not, as at this day, *in case of more produce* in consequence of the tenant's outlay in improving the land. And where a farm is all in good heart, and under the plough, and does not stand in need of extra work—as fences, drains, cattle-shelter, all which does not properly come under the head of farming—no tenant need wish for a lease. English farms are mostly of this kind, which, with the just confidence in their landlords, is the reason why so much of the land is there let from year to year; but there is hardly an Irish county that contains half-a-dozen large tillage-farms in good order.

Now, Irish tenants will not put their farms in good order without leases. Their fathers got the bare surface of the land, which did very well in the old system of agriculture, and while wet land was left for grazing, and while stubble-fields could be left in their ridges to skin themselves. But the new and good system of agriculture drains wet land, lays down stubble-fields in grasses and green crops, brings all the land in its turn under the plough. Now, Irish landlords must not suppose that farmers from year to year,

except in a few special cases, will do all this extra work themselves without leases.

Observe the difference between our farmers and the often-quoted example of English tenants-at-will. The English farmer, year after year, goes on in the same course, does not improve his land in the least degree; his farm was just as good fifty years ago as it is now. But does a field require drains? Why, John Bull makes a special bargain with his landlord, but never thinks of draining the land at his own expense. Where is the analogy then *between the man who walks into a well-furnished house, and the man who hires an unfurnished room?*

A man can at most be required to keep what he hires the use of in as good a state as it came into his hands.

"But," says a landlord, "if I give A, or B, or C, to-morrow a lease of their farms for twenty years, which can be easily drained, &c., they will forthwith only try to pay the rent, and not lay a penny out on the land, though it would repay well a large outlay long before their lease expires. In the mean time, as long as they pay me the rent, I cannot urge them to farm better." All this may be very true, except the last sentence. The advice of an Irish gentleman, supported, as in this case, by common sense and self-interest, will always have great weight with the farmer. If not, it is the landlord's own fault.

The best lease is the farmer's own life. A man's death is the period for a great change in the circumstances of his family. Let a man work hard himself, with the knowledge that the fruit of his labour will be his own, that at his death his farm will be valued over again. Suppose a man to be cut off before the usual term of life, and before his improvements had come into play, the landlord would surely give that man's son good assistance.

Though if, in case the farm did not continue in the family, custom obliges the landlord, as it ought to do, to pay his heirs for the increase of value put on his land, there could not be any money-loss in any case.

Now what data should guide the landlord and this man's heirs in fixing this sum? the money or money's worth laid out by the farmer? Certainly not in any degree. It may have been laid out foolishly; the work may have been done badly; prices may have changed for the worse in the mean time, and the mistake was in the farmer's own judgment.

When the farmer (just dead) took this farm, it was in such and such a state; such and such fields, now dry and well-drained, were then wet swamps; such and such fields, now in grass and corn, were then cut-away bog, &c. If the farm was now in just the same state that it was then, it could be let for (a) pounds a year; but it has been so much improved that it can now be let for ($a + b$) pounds a year. Therefore the landlord pays his heirs (say) 20 years' purchase for b . Is it not quite plain that the more money a landlord can lay out in this way, at 5 per cent, with his own land as security, as it were in his own bank, the better for himself; and that the encouragement to improvement which this arrangement would give to his tenants would do his property more benefit than all the Scotch stewards, agriculturists, &c., that could be let loose upon the people; than the most active agent; than all after-dinner speeches that ever were spoken, or pamphlets that ever were written by Smith, Martin Doyle, Blacker, &c.

All very good. But who fixes the sum? Why, the landlord's steward and some man appointed by the farmer's heirs; if they cannot agree to call in a third, whose voice is to be final.

It is very desirable that a class of skilful upright surveyors of land and appraisers of farms should grow up in Ireland for the sake of both landlords and tenants. This is a class of men that will every day be called upon in matters of this kind. The ordnance and poor law valuation have brought them into notice; but their profession requires to be defined by many by-laws as to fees, &c., and by some general rules, for any body may now call himself a land-surveyor and appraiser, and value land in his own way, whereas all ought to aim at the value through the same data. Suppose the land-appraisers in Ireland formed themselves into a society, and drew up the best rules for their own guidance? It is very necessary that their character should be most respectable, and above the imputation of unfair influence from either side; the progressive improvement in agriculture and confidence between landlord and tenant, will much depend upon their honesty and ability.

In Scotland, there is a sheriff in every county, (like a permanent assistant barrister) who every year publishes the average prices of the different kinds of grain, and of the different qualities of each kind, on an average of the last three years, within the shire. This price-list is the official basis of the Scotch corn-rent.—In a similar way, the clerk of the market of every county-town in Ireland could at very little trouble publish every year the average prices within the county of various articles of agricultural produce. Tables of this kind would be of use in many ways, to landlords and tenants who adopted a rent, (as is often the case in Scotland) part in a fixed sum of money, part in the money-price of a fixed quantity of corn; to people of all classes, as an instructive history of the commercial state of the country: as an index of the influence of the weather, of bad and good seasons, of changes in the currency, in

import duties, of political changes, of war and peace on the food-prices. Few of the tillage-farms in Ireland are yet laid down well enough for a corn-rent, which cannot fairly come into play till the farmer has his whole farm well under the plough, and can pursue year after year a regular course of crops on the same area of land.

The principle of a corn-rent, namely, to save the farmer from loss in case of a sudden fall in price from changes in our foreign policy, is very fair, while our foreign corn-legislation is likely to change from time to time. But this is the only uncertainty that can warrant us in giving up the much simpler mode of fixed money-rents; for as the seasons will always be uncertain, their influence on the value of crops must be taken on an average. Corn-rents have, I believe, been much approved of in Scotland, and it would be well worth the while of some agricultural society in Ireland to inquire by a committee fully and carefully into their nature, and fitness for introduction into Ireland.

The best lease is the farmer's own life; but if for years, 21 years is long enough for every farming-lease. It will always be the tenant's interest to throw up the lease a few years before its time runs out, and to take out a new lease, and it will be the landlord's interest to continue a good tenant.

It is observed that the subdivision of land into very small farms uses the farmer's hands instead of machines, and even dispenses to a great degree with the assistance elsewhere received from horses and cattle; and that the moral character of a people, where the great masses are kept in this drudgery, is gross and superstitious.

But why use the word drudgery? cannot an independent labourer dig a field as well as guide a plough? Yes; but

I suppose a case where the whole breadth of the country, as in Belgium, in the west of Ireland, in some kingdoms of Germany, is divided into little farms, so small that all the work is done by the hand, and not by horses or machines. The previous state of such a country must be an excessive number of poor people, for none but the poor will submit to such hard work. But why hard work? cannot farmers who cultivate the land only with their spades live as well as the farmers that use ploughs, and horses, &c.? Certainly not, *cæteris paribus*, i. e., in the same country, within reach of the same markets, and under the same rent, on the same quality of soil. The farmer digs because he is too poor to plough his land. But the dug land will give more produce than the ploughed? Then the farmer digs because he is too poor to employ labourers to dig instead of himself.

While man is man, spade-husbandry will be the sign of a poor and too numerous, people; and if people grow poor and too numerous, the spade will drive out the plough in spite of all the books to the contrary. It is not the immediate use of the spade, but the general depression of poverty, that in such countries always exhibits an ignorant, a brutal people. Only great competition in the labour-market will put out the plough; the same competition will press on the rate of wages, on the leisure time of the labourer, who will be too busy with his hands to develop his mind, and must sink into a stolid state. Therefore, from its experience of its moral injury, and with a view not to the land but to the people, we must disapprove of small farms.

Some gentlemen, with most philanthropic motives, have cut up large pieces of land in several English counties into small farms. Now, whether the small-farm system in these

cases works well or not, it is quite plain that its good or bad success must depend upon special and not general causes. For it lies in the midst, and under the influence of a large-farm system; just as the Quakers, without any church or public religious services, get on very well in the midst of English churchmen. But who could say, from their example, ~~that it would~~ be better for a whole nation to live in the same way?

“The ridden horse will always beat the wild one.” In our climate, the small farmer tilling his own farm by himself and his family, never does as much work in the same time, or as well, as when employed at wages.

The best agriculture will require large farms in the hands of intelligent men, overlooking labourers. Again, the farm-labourer can live more comfortably on his wages, than on the gains of a small farm at a rent, in his own hands.

But the possession of land raises a man, in his own eyes, and gives him independence? The good labourer is just as independent. His labour will always give him wages. The small farmer, who can hardly pay his rent, is in a very bad way. In short, it is better for men without any capital but their labour, to be the labourers on large farms, than small farmers themselves. But surely a man will be more careful and industrious for his own good, than for his master's? I think not. For his master will dismiss him in case of idleness, or cut down his wages.

In England certainly men are often very large farmers without intelligence or independence, and their farm-labourers are often a very low brutal set, far beneath the poor Irish peasantry, whose good manners have been kept up by feeling themselves masters in their own houses or their own farms. The Scotch farmers pay their labourers

in kind, giving them, every month, so much oatmeal, wheat, and potatoes, and a very little money for shop-goods. This admirable system brings up the labourer's family in abundance, keeps them from markets, and in thrifty habits. Besides, they get attached to their masters' farm. I wish I could urge all farmers to give their labourers a very liberal allowance; it saves money in the end. An honest, careful labourer, who serves his master as well behind his back as before his face, is well worth good wages; but how can flesh and blood be honest, when hard work every day will not feed and clothe a man well?

Our civilization, though standing on the basis of Christianity, has done very little hitherto to relieve the labouring classes. It has not shortened their hours of work, or given them leisure time, so necessary for the mind, or admitted them within the circle of its pleasures. It has not been of that kind which—

"Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros."

Our Chancellor of the Exchequer has just told us, "that our rich are getting richer, and our poor are getting poorer." There must be some grievous fault in society, which will send up in due time its avengers, more sensible, but with as much enthusiasm, as Lamennais and St. Simon.

SEWERS AND CABINETS D' AISANCE IN TOWNS.

Omnia pura puris.

The convenience of the people, the cleanliness of the way-sides, so often disfigured by filth, especially in the neighbourhood of large towns, shows the great public and moral utility of these places in a populous country; which also, from their agricultural value, would be a fair source of income (in some cases a very large income) to their possessors—the men who built, and the men who took

them at a rent. But the sewers of all kinds in every town ought to be in all cases caught in a great reservoir, instead of, as at this day, defiling the waters of the river or lake the town stands upon, and wasting so much valuable manure. Land in the neighbourhood of towns is of great value, especially for kitchen-garden crops, which require rich manure. The money the neighbouring farmers would gladly pay for the manure in the town's reservoir, would pay a high interest for the outlay in extra sewerage. Landlords should remember, that every year, as the towns extend their area, and as the land about them increases in value, a work of this kind becomes more and more difficult; more obstacles grow up in its way, and thousands will not go as far as hundreds would have gone a few years back. Besides its own return, a work of this kind increases the rent of houses, as the town becomes a cleaner, healthier, and more desirable dwelling-place. It is supposed that manure to the value of a million and a half sterling is lost every year in the Thames.

The "Health Report," drawn up by order of the Poor-law Commissioners, recommends that sewer officers should be appointed all over the country, to see that the sewers in towns were kept in good order, made with fall enough, and extended with the new houses. Fevers would not then be so common:—we are only beginning to look into matters of this kind as carefully as they deserve.

CHAP. III.

FEE-SIMPLE TENURE OF LAND.

LAND-REGISTRY-OFFICES.

VIOLENT ARGUMENT BETWEEN "A LAWYER" AND AN "HONEST MAN."

LAND-LAWS IN NORWAY AND IN FRANCE.

ENGLISH LAWS A THOUSAND TIMES TOO VOLUMINOUS, BECAUSE SPECIAL.

WANT OF A GENERAL CODE OF LAWS, LIKE NAPOLEON'S.

OLD ENGLISH (1703) LAND-REGISTRY LAWS.

SUPPOSE that the state opened a permanent land-registry office in the county-town of every county in Ireland, where the names of the possessors-in-fee of all the land in the county would be kept, in the county land-book, under the guardianship of a respectable officer, with two sets of alphabetical entries; (1) a separate entry of each town-land, (the smallest civil division of land) with reference to the ordnance map, (2) of the name of each possessor, with entries of his several estates by name.

The necessary information to draw up the land-book in the first instance could be very easily got at, and at very little expense. Such entries not to stand in the least degree in the way of any previous claims upon the land; i. e., in the eyes of the law, not to decide disputes in any way relating to the land, and depending upon circumstances that took place *before* the book was opened.

Now suppose the land-registry-office with the land-book to be opened on new year's day, 1845. A is possessor-in-fee of town-lands, *a, b, c, &c.* B wishes to buy town-land *a*. Then A and B come to this office; and the keeper, by changing the name, transfers at once all A's right in the town-land *a* to B. There is B's title-deed in this entry in the land-book with date, &c. Some time afterwards B wishes to borrow money on the security of this townland, and goes with C, who is willing to lend the money, to this office, to look at B's entry in the land-book. C wishing to know whether B's estate is already security for any debt, or oppressed with any burden, for C knows that every legal burden on the land must be put down in this book, and otherwise is not worth a pin, and cannot stand in the way of his claim. Thus by this office how simply, how easily, how securely does the supreme law of the state ratify (1) the conveyance of land, (2) the security of money lent on its pledge.*

"But, my dear sir," will say some old lawyer, horror-struck at a plan that would cut off a fruitful source of fees to the lawyers from the country-gentlemen's pockets, springing out of securities, judgments, conveyances, leases, and a thousand matters relating to land, "your plan is quite impossible; it could never be done; it would ruin the country."

Honest Man.—"Why, it may be foolish, but certainly is neither impossible, nor incompatible with a very high state of national prosperity. Witness France, Savoy, Piedmont, Switzerland."

* The office-expenses might be defrayed by a small per centage on purchase money and small fees, on mortgages, leases, &c., so that the institution of land-registry-offices would not cost the country one penny.

Lawyer—"But France is a new country. Who knows how long her republican institutions will last?"

Honest Man.—"Well, the Saxon land-laws in the days of Alfred were of this kind. Copyhold-tenure merely means that the possessor kept a copy of the entry of his purchase in the land-book. Alfred, I believe, lived in the good old English times."

Lawyer.—"But our laws very wisely and justly permit a man at his marriage to use his property as security for the payment of certain sums, in case certain events should take place, as that his wife should survive him, or that he should leave children behind him, and again at his death give him a free disposable right to convey his land or portions of his land, not only to people then alive, but to their issue, unless the previous possessor of his inherited property has already exercised this right in the case of his own lands, and bound them up beyond his reach."

Honest Man.—"I do not now speak either of the wisdom or of the justice of these laws, or inquire whether England has prospered or decayed, when she has been prosperous or the contrary, in consequence or in spite of these laws. The Institution of a land-registry-office in every county would not interfere with any law; for example, on new year's day, 1845, M is tenant-for-life and in the enjoyment of the rents of a large estate settled on his eldest son N. If M wishes to give leases for his life of farms on this estate, or to borrow money on the security of its rents due to him for his life, this office gives him a cheap and easy mode of legally confirming his bargain with the lessee or creditor."

Lawyer.—"But, between you and me, tell me, without reserve, with what view do you propose this change?"

Do you wish to let the country-gentlemen cut their own

throats? To undermine the landlord-interest, which, while in the hands of a few, will always be the ballast of the state, and the best support of the aristocracy and monarchy, by tempting the landlords in full fee to cut up their estates?—Is there any “*arrière-pensée politique*” of this kind in your plan? You know that our church, our army and navy, and our government, in spite of what is written in books, and what the people think, are aristocratical at heart. Every now and then a tub is thrown to the whale; and the people have such full liberty to make fools of themselves in newspapers, in meetings, in speeches, in safety-valves of every kind, that our institutions out of doors look very popular. “*Palmarum qui meruit ferat*” seems to be their motto. See what a host of men of the people—Peel, Gladstone, Eldon, Lyndhurst, have risen to the highest offices of the state, (though by-the-bye this happens quite as often under despots in Turkey, Persia, &c. and extremes meet,) and of commoners as Brougham. But you know that this introduction of the foremost and cleverest, of the richest and most powerful commoners into the aristocracy, instead of weakening strengthens, instead of tarnishing throws a fresh lustre over its ranks; while a rigorous exclusion of all men from the highest offices and honours of the state, that did not happen to be born within the narrow circle of six hundred families out of twenty-five million souls, would very soon, in a country of civil and religious liberty, lead to a political revolution. You must therefore acknowledge that an hereditary aristocracy is an essential element in our political constitution; that the subdivision of land into very numerous, and therefore small estates of possessors-in-fee, would of course deprive the aristocracy of its chief source of strength, as the possessors of the great bulk of the land, and thus inevitably change the character of the whole body

of the state, through its great limb, the aristocracy. Now let us not inquire whether our constitution is good or bad, or might be made better, though the fruit speaks pretty well for the tree; yet why, if its friend, do you propose what will lead to changes in its character? If its enemy, why not attack its abuses straightforward and in front, and not by any insidious roundabout path? why propose, under the colour of specious names, borrowed from social convenience, what you know and hope will lead to great political changes?

Honest Man.—Waiving the defence you leave open to me, that all stratagems are fair in war, I must say again, that, in recommending the institution of land-registry offices in the county-towns, I do not suggest *any* change in *any* law, but simply a mode of avoiding the innumerable obstacles that now stand in its way, and that have grown up with time, and with the vast increase of our wealth and of our people &c., to be a most mischievous oppression on the land. Common sense shows that the more cheaply and easily land can be brought into the market, the more cheaply will its possessors be able to supply the people with its produce. The law says you may sell that bit of land to any man who chooses to buy it; but where can the purchaser find out whether the land *does* belong to you, or whether there are no claims upon it? Why, he must apply to lawyers, and run into a great expense of time and money. All these expenses are of use in frightening all but rich men from purchasing land. Aye—there is the cat out of the bag. And again, in leaving all these matters in the hands of a learned and separate class (the lawyers); but is there any good reason why the public good should require any obstacles to be thrown in the way of the conveyance &c. of land? Would not the immediate stamp of

the state in these land-books, as the only title to land, give its possession *full security*, by giving all the land-lords in the kingdom, i.e. the most powerful class, the strongest motives of self-interest, firmly to support the state?

The vast sums of money now spent every year all over the country in inquiring into the titles of pieces of land, would be saved, if the state once took under its immediate guardianship the registry of every conveyance. Surely the state has a good right to know what hands the land passes into, and what burdens it bears.

Land to be well used requires capital; and the sooner a man deeply in debt sells his land, the better for the country. Though the registry-offices would not give any man more power over his land, only a cheaper mode of using the power he happens to possess.

In short, the state, in a very populous country, must see that the land which provides its citizens with food is used to the best advantage; not of course by special interference, but by just and liberal land-laws.

Lawyer.—But your plan has a very “liberal” appearance.

Honest Man.—You mean a very reasonable appearance, which is much the same.

Lawyer.—What would you do with the lawyers? Just see what swarms of lawyers live in Dublin and London. Half their business arises from land-disputes, that under your plan could not possibly spring up. Now, my dear sir, political reason is all very good in its way, but would you wish to take the bread out of the mouths of these men, who have paid for an expensive education, with the view of gaining a livelihood on the faith of old customs?

Honest Man.—Certainly I should be very sorry to injure

the value of any ships that have already sailed, though only just out of port; but would take such measures, that for the future not so many would be sent in that line. Far too much of our national wealth is spent on the professions, i. e. far more than is necessary. The state of English law is an Augæan stable, that calls for an Hercules. A temple whose doors are open only to the rich, while the poor must stand and wait—whose priests are too numerous, and too fond of forms and ceremonies. The people of late years have so often snapped at the bait of cheapness, hung out by dealers in political economy, on the hook of selfishness, that it has become a kind of maxim to sing, A cheap church is a bad church—cheap law is bad law—a cheap government a bad government; and the whole innumerable crowd of clergymen, lawyers, ministers, ambassadors, commissioners, and placemen of every shade, catch up the cry, and shout, *alta voce*, A cheap church is a bad church—cheap law is bad law—a cheap government is a bad government !

But your observations led me on galloping ground. I will merely recommend you to draw up, as nearly as you can, what the nation pays every year to a set of men for speaking and writing about disputes between ourselves—what the nation pays in salaries through the treasury—what in private fees, to lawyers and attorneys—find out in the law-almanacs how many of these privateers have taken out letters-of-marque. Give them an average income, and multiply this their income by their number; or else travel to the same place by another road: Guess how many men there are in the country of so many thousands a year, how many of so many hundreds, &c.; and guess how much a man, in each of these classes, pays in law on an average of every year. Add up all. Either way should lead to the same sum. Suppose the nation to be a man possessed of

so much property: then is, or is not this sum too great a share to be paid for defending and securing his wealth, not abroad, not from foreigners &c, but in his own family? But, old song, Cheap law is bad law—French law is cheap and bad, English law is dear and good—slow and sure. Slow enough, but not always sure [aside].

Old song caught up by the Lawyer.—What a sordid Utilitarian! Some discontented fellow! Let us say he is a Radical; yes, that's our best card; call him a violent Radical; tell the people, he wishes to pull down church and state; they will forget us in the hubbub. Set them by the ears—all the better for us. Say he is a Puseyite and a Catholic; Bull swallows any stuff when he gets in a passion.

Honest Man.—Gentlemen Lawyers, I can assure you I do not wish to deprive you of your harvest, or to disparage the fruit of any seed that has been already sown. I know that the open avowal of wishes of this kind, but much oftener their imputation, has been and continues to be a chief obstacle in the way of many political changes for the better; the common sense of large classes would otherwise look forward to their own advantage in the speedy increase of general prosperity; their honesty would reconcile them to some loss for the public good; but the fear of ruin to themselves and their families in the mean time by a sudden change overrules all their better feelings, and raises the dense cloud of party passion. Then the strongest arm, the most numerous party, wins the day. This was the case of the slave owners, is the case of the farmers, (in the corn law), and has often been the case of the clergy. You have drawn me from speaking of a state institution, to the vast quantity of lawyers' business that would cease on its establishment, and then to the state of the law in general; all subjects, but especially the last, far beyond my reach,

though perhaps so many people are beginning to think in the same way, that in this age of light and civilization, the common sense of the country will before long seriously ask whether the goodness and security of English law depends on its innumerable, incomprehensible, slow, barbarous, irrational forms, and not on the publicity of its courts in a country of civil and religious liberty. Slow law is not just law; expensive law is not just law. As to the land-registry-offices, observe that with time and peace, our wealth and our numbers on the same area have increased in a wonderful degree, far beyond that of any state in Europe; that men of all fortunes like to possess land; that this natural desire ought to be freely indulged by the state, for it helps to keep fortunes in the kingdom, which would otherwise find resting-places abroad and elsewhere, and to invest the gains of our commerce and manufactures in improving and adorning the soil of our country. The legislature ought to give every facility to the conveyance of land, either for ever, or for a term of years or lives, and to its use as a pledge for the payment of loans. All bargains of these kinds ought to be cheaply and easily sanctioned by the state, and the remedy on either side, in case of non-performance, ought to be quick, cheap, and easy. Legal tediousness, and a vast variety and number of forms to be gone through in these purposes, are not the sign of a very high, just, enlightened law. *As the land-laws stand now*, cases certainly reach a voluminous size, get entangled in a net, that it must require a vast expense, because a vast labour and time, to understand and unriddle, and decide upon them. But the fault lies wholly in our institutions, which let the disease run on too long. If every legal conveyance or use of land was entered in the county land-books, i. e., every conveyance or use that a court of law would recog-

nize, instead of leaving them wholly to private agreement, till some dispute calls upon the law to search out at immense trouble, and between opposite testimonies, matters of fact, that in this case a reference to the county land-books would shew at once, how quickly would suits be determined, that now drag their slow length through years and years, this court reversing what that court adjudged, till the longest purse, and not the juster side, wins the day.

Lawyer. — But how irregular is the face of nature ! The country rises and falls into hills and valleys ; the weather is hot, cold, cloudy, &c. ; where there is life and health, there is change and variety. In the same way our English institutions are not cut-and-dry, by the cold rules of reason, but are various, with freedom of play to the various fortunes, dispositions, purposes of men. The machine works well. The proof of the excellence of our institutions is in our history. We are the richest, the most powerful, the most respectable nation in the world. Why then change the system of our laws ? or introduce the cold principle of reason as its basis, when so much in our church, in our government, in our army and navy, is the fruit of time, not of reason ? Why bring out into clear day these necessary and useful faults in a great country, which if wiped out of one great branch would look hideous in the rest ? i. e. why introduce a few changes, that would lead to many, small that would lead to great, unless you wish to recommend essential changes in the government.

The author knows that these arguments are not drawn up in a logical train, and does not put them forth as always agreeable to his own opinions, but as an epitome of the discussion in manner, style, and animus, that a debate on the institution of land-registry-offices would call forth.

Some arguments are left open for the reader to answer

himself. The author had chiefly Ireland in his view, where the very little capital laid out on the land, and the very little capital held in the country, calls upon the State, from agricultural and political motives, to bring land into the market cheaply and in small quantities, that will come within the reach of provincial merchants, &c. Most fortunes below £500 a year are spent in the country, and form the respectable middle class, whose absence leaves so mischievous a chasm (in Ireland) in our social state. It is needless to notice the advantages of a cheap registry of leases, in a time when agriculture is rapidly progressing in a wild country, draining marshes, reclaiming bogs, and therefore calls loudly for leases to protect the parties spending their capital, till the land repays them.

The land-laws are different in almost every state in Europe, and often in the same state for different classes, as princes of royal blood, nobles, commoners. In Norway, *from time immemorial*, the value of all that a father leaves in the world, is divided by the law among his children. Yet the Norwegian farmers are a most respectable body of men, farming their own lands. What keeps their farms large, in spite of this law? Their honest family pride, and the facility given to the eldest son of borrowing money on the land to pay his brothers and sisters their fortunes. Under our institutions, Norway, a poor barren country, eight months of the year under snow, would be overrun with beggars, its rich men would spend its rents in more agreeable places, yet it supports a million and a half of honest, hardy, and comfortable people as any in Europe. The climate, the quality of the soil, &c., are so different from our own, that I do not wish to draw any analogy between Norway and Great Britain. Again, in France, the law for the last fifty years has divided the land and money of the father between

the children. Has the land by this time come into the possession of such poor people, that agriculture suffers for want of capital? Is society falling into a common-place middle-class, insensible to the pleasures of the mind, and easily excited in its ignorance by religion or national bigotry? or has the law put the soil of France in the hands of a hardy yeomanry, tilling their own farms like a garden, living happily on its produce? I have heard the most opposite answers given to these questions.—M. Mauguin says, land in the south of France has run into too small lots, and is very heavily oppressed with mortgages, given for money not to be spent in agricultural improvements, but in the pleasures of Paris; and I believe the Strasbourg railway company had great trouble in buying the land from so many landlords in the very small farms of Alsace. But it would not be fair to judge the law by its fruits in France, without reference to the dispositions of the French people, and to the state of the country under the old regime. Baron d'Haussez, in his *View of Switzerland*, strongly condemns the very small farms in some cantons, as the immediate cause, not only of bad agriculture, but of social abasement. In the Valais, an apple-tree often belongs to several men, who share its fruits, and at its death the wood. Hungary, again, the richest and worst-tilled country in Europe, where the land-estates are immense, in the hands of noblemen much in debt, and living at Vienna, still more than Irish landlords do in London, is an example of the opposite case; after all, the people of every country must do their best in their own peculiar circumstances.

What an odd opinion, that a numerous tribe of lawyers is a sign of civilization! The smoke of London would be as good a sign. Civilization brings peace, then riches, and

where there is a great carcase, there will be the crows—*ubi corpus, ibi corvi*. Lawyers are a sign of civilization because a sign of wealth, for lawyers would certainly never be found except where there is money. But surely a purer civilization would enjoy its wealth with fewer disputes, and develop institutions that would in some degree cut off their source. But this age is getting, not enjoying.

Lawyers are scissors that cut all that passes between them, without hurting themselves. What a pity, besides, that so many clever men, that would have done honour to their country, and developed their own genius for the good of mankind in any honourable pursuit, in the arts or sciences, should year after year run blindfold into studies, that thirty or forty years hence turn them out full of narrow prejudices,—misanthropes, without knowledge of the world, utterly incapable of looking on mankind except with suspicion, bred by acquaintance with the worst of the species under their worst passions. May not much of the bigotry, of the violence of parties in England, flow from studies that guide us not to reason expressed in any general rules, but to search for the opinion of a judge given in time past on a similar case? Then of course comes the question, Is the case similar? and how far is it similar? and has that judge's opinion been overruled by any judge's since?

Does not a code of laws, well, fully, wisely drawn up, like Frederic Vth's, of Denmark, in the 16th century, or like Napoleon's, save a people a vast deal of petty, of sordid business, i. e. give them so much more spare time? and where is the danger to the citizen's liberty, in a representative government, with freedom to the judges of filling up these general heads to meet the special cases?

But because France has adopted this system, (and owes much of the clearness and vigour of her literature, and thought, and institutions, to its influence,) therefore Englishmen must stand by their own opposite ways, though they embarrass our progress on every side.

Suppose Queen Victoria wished to leave a code of laws behind her, that posterity might give her the honourable title of "Lawgiver," what an outcry would issue from the various inns, courts, halls, &c.; how many *laudatores temporis acti*, how many scribblers, like the priests of the Ephesian Diana, would be thrown out of work!

PUBLIC REGISTRY OF LAND.

2 and 3 Anne. c. 4. "An act for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, and wills, that shall be made of any honors, manors, lands, &c., in the West Riding of York." 1703.

"Whereas the West Riding of the county of York is the principal place in the north for the cloth manufacture, and most of the traders therein are freeholders, and have frequent occasion to borrow money upon their estates for managing their said trade, but, for want of a register, find it difficult to give security to the satisfaction of the money-lenders, although the security they offer be really good; by means whereof the said trade is very much obstructed, and many families ruined," &c.

The register was chosen by ballot by the freeholders, and obliged to give £2,000 security.

6 Anne c. 35, "An act for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that shall be made of, or that may affect any honors, manors, lands, &c. in the East Riding of York." 1707.

"Whereas the lands in the East Riding of York are gene-

rally freehold, which may be so secretly transferred or conveyed from one person to another, that such as are ill-disposed have it in their power to commit frauds, and frequently do so; by means whereof several persons (who through many years' industry in their trades and employments, and by great frugality, have been enabled to purchase lands, or to lend moneys on land-security,) have been undone in their purchases and mortgages by prior and secret conveyances and fraudulent incumbrances; and not only themselves, but their whole families thereby utterly ruined," &c.

All deeds, &c., not registered, to be void.

Every new leaf in land-book to be signed by justices of peace at quarter-sessions.

A similar act in 1708 for Middlesex.

And in 1735 for the North Riding of York.

These successive introductions of land-registry, within 32 years, into the two largest and richest counties in England, show clearly that it worked well.

It would be worth while to inquire why since 1735 no other English counties have got a land registry. Of late years its general introduction all over England has, I believe, been strongly recommended by high legal authority; while the opposition comes chiefly from the landlords, who do not wish their land-affairs to be known. But why should a man care that the public knew that his estates were quite free? and if there are debts on them, is it not only fair and just that the public should know them? I have not been able to find out whether its institution in York and Middlesex, on an experience of more than 100 years, has given good satisfaction; or whether landlords in these counties have suffered in any way by the publicity of their land-affairs; or whether the dissatisfaction, which of some

kind they may be supposed to have given, as they have not been adopted in the rest of England, arises not from the principle itself, but from some checks upon its full play, or from abuses that have crept into the registry-offices themselves.

Coke upon Littleton, 290. b. Butler's note, xiii., alluding to these acts of Parliament, says, "The legislature has at different times made attempts to remedy the mischief arising from the secret transfer of property, which the statute of Uses gave rise to."

And "by laws of France as far back as 16th century, all wills and deeds were void unless registered within a certain time."

The 27 Hen. 8. c. 16, directs every conveyance of land by bargain and sale to be inrolled within six months after date thereof.

Napoleon's code also puts all land-deeds under the guardianship of state-registries; but as the French law of wills differs so widely from the English, especially in the matter of land-possession, the fruits of a subordinate measure cannot be fairly quoted as an example to Englishmen.

My attention was first drawn to the state of our land-laws by observing the great disadvantage an Irish landlord meets with in borrowing money on his land-security, who comes into the money-market with just as good security, very likely much better, than a landlord in Cornwall or Lincolnshire, and yet must pay from one to three per cent. more for his money. The cause does not lie, as Englishmen always allege, in the political disorder of Ireland. Come what may, land will always fetch its value; and if (which there is not much chance of) by a repeal of the Union, the Irish houses of Lords and Commons should meet

in Dublin, and the rich Irishmen live more in Ireland, land would certainly rise in value. Come what may, the possession of land will always be most desirable to every class, and therefore (1.) will be kept up in value by competition; (2.) will be supported in security by common interest. As to the French laws dividing the father's land in equal shares between his children at his death, the English people are far better disposed to introduce them than the Irish, whose feelings are cast in a feudal mould. Again, the half-cultivated land in Ireland, with labour for 6d. a day, is far better able to pay rent, and meet a fall of price in agricultural produce, than the much better tilled land in England with very dear labour. But if an Irish gentleman wants to borrow money, how troublesome and expensive to find out whether the security offered be good, or not! and after all, what risk, and hazard, and delay!

It must strike everybody that the more English capital is lent on Irish land, the more heartily anxious will Englishmen be to promote Irish prosperity and peace, which then becomes to them a matter of commercial interest. The English mortgagee will be as desirous of getting in the rents at their time as the Irish landlord; and the first consequence of peace and prosperity will be to reduce the value of money, by bringing more money-lenders into the market. Again, land differs from other kinds of property, as capital laid out in merchandise, in ships, in manufactures, in loans or bonds, &c., as it gives its possessor many social and political rights and duties, i. e. the state, the commonwealth, the whole people, as well as each possessor, have an interest in its security and cultivation.

In the House of Lords April 28, 1843, Lord Campbell's bill for the conveyance of land. In the debate, Lord Campbell says, "The expense attending the conveyance of land

deterred many men from small purchases; hence the class of yeomanry could not increase. A form of conveyance need not exceed the size of the hand. Two most eminent lawyers, Taunton and Charles Buller, recommend that a set form of words should be used in deeds and mortgages." Lords Lyndhurst, Langdale, and Cottenham, all oppose the measure. Lord Campbell in reply says, "he fears their opposition will bring to life an old accusation against the profession; that lawyers never would reform the law; and though applauded by attorneys and conveyancers, will not meet with the approbation of the people."

A large London-conveyancer has since told me, that all the law-reforms have *increased* the time and expense of law—(They were brought in by lawyers). This must be the consequence of so many special laws, passed within so many years, and which must be every one complied with in the forms, &c. Some English Napoleon will some day throw the whole set into the fire, and give us a code of laws, which cannot hurt our liberties, while we choose our own judges through our own ministers.

CHAP. IV.

THOROUGH-DRAINING, AND SUBSOIL DIGGING.

BALLANDINE IMPROVEMENTS IN COUNTY MAYO.

PRINCIPLE OF THOROUGH DRAINS.

THEIR EXPENSE.

THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO IRELAND AT THIS TIME A SPECIAL
PROVIDENCE.

DRAINING SHOULD BE ALL DONE BY THE TENANT.

INTELLIGENCE AND ZEAL OF THE SMALL IRISH FARMER.

SUBSOIL-DIGGING.

DRAINAGE LAWS.

I HAD the pleasure this spring of seeing a remarkable instance of agricultural improvement in the County Mayo. Mr. Joseph Lambert, of Brookhill, took me over Lord Oranmore's estate, near Ballandine, where more than 4,000 Irish perches were made in 1842, and more than 9,000 have been already made in 1843, and *all by tenants-at-will, wholly at their own expense*. Before the spring-work began, more than 15,000 Irish perches of thorough-drains had been made in the neighbourhood of Ballandine, since the beginning of the year, on Lord Oranmore's, Sir Robert Arbuthnot's, and Mr. Joseph Lambert's lands. The soil lies on a stiff limestone gravel, that held the water and sent up rushes; and will now give so much better crops, both in quantity and quality, that Mr. Joseph Lambert thinks the increase in four years will fully repay the expense. These small farmers have put their hands to the

work with a zeal only to be met with in Ireland; and are so well satisfied with the fruits of their last year's labour, that thorough-draining, on the strength of its own advantages, will probably spread far and wide through a county in Ireland, where the peasantry are the poorest, the agriculture the worst. If the landlords will only step forward and clear the water-courses of the rivers, which in winter and in wet weather in these low lands cannot carry off the water quickly enough, till the flood rises on a vast area of arable land, and injures the farmer in many ways, beside keeping back his spring-work,—then there is a better chance now, than at any former period, when there is so much idle labour in the market, of introducing good tillage, husbandry, and an industrious peasantry, into Connaught.

Men are apt to ride their hobbies too hard. Some people seem to think that Smith's thorough-drains will give as great a stimulus to Irish agriculture, as Arkwright's jenny did to the English cotton-trade. But a great deal of land does not require any kind of drain, where the soil lies on a limestone rock, or on sand and gravel, and of course will not derive any benefit from this new system. It may be said that the followers of agriculture change their recipes as often as physicians, and from the same reason—gross ignorance as soon as they get beyond the commonest matter of experience. A few years ago, the liver was the fashionable seat of every disease, and calomel was given in every case. Then came the lungs; and now the stomach bears the blame for all that goes wrong. A few years ago Elkington's drains were as warmly praised, as Smith's have been lately; and is it not possible that Smith's in their turn will fall into disrepute?

Land is wet from two causes.

1st. Spring-water: the rain that fell upon, and sunk into

higher land, checked by some impervious stratum, springs up, and oozes over the field.

2d. Surface-water: the rain lies in the soil it falls upon.

Elkington, in a time when much more land was under pasture, and less attention paid to the minutiae of agriculture than at this day, tried in various ways to get rid of the spring-water, by cutting off its sources by a cross-drain, by tapping the leaky stratum with a well, by spreading a network of drains over the whole area, i. e. by special measures to meet the very different cases, and his great merit lay in his skill as a water-engineer, and in bringing everywhere into use covered drains, either full of stones, or built to give a clear passage to the water.

But the close attention that bad prices and home-competition have obliged farmers of late years to pay to their tillage, disclosed the very bad effects of surface-water, which especially stood in the way, in many farms, of the two great modern improvements of courses of crops, and of laying down fields quite level in corn-crops, with grass seeds to be mown next year. The Scotch farmers made several attempts to lay down a good general rule, that all farmers might follow the same, and the best mode of taking off the surface-water; and Smith's rules have succeeded so well, that they have come into general use. I wish to show that Smith's drains are not a haphazard discovery, struck out of his own mind, but have come in their place in the course of progressive agriculture, to meet a want that was generally felt.

The quantity of water sent up by springs, depends on the area of the receiving surface above; and if the spring comes to a head in a small spot of ground, in wet weather a great deal more water is likely to be sent up than could

be taken off in any drain full of stones. Though farmers have often made stone-drains in these cases to save the greater expense of a built drain with an open passage, and have suffered for their penny-wise-and-pound-foolish economy, in finding their land only half dry in spring.

Smith's rules are—Run the drains straight *with* the fall of the land. In consequence of this rule the drains will, in most fields, be nearly parallel. Cut the drains 30 inches deep, 2 inches wide at bottom, 8 inches wide at top, fill 12 inches with small stones of the size of a walnut, then over the stones lies 18 inches of soil. Thus, if the soil is stirred by the subsoil-plough, or spade, to the depth of 16 inches, there will still be 2 inches between the useful soil and the stones. Make all the drains of the same size, and as close as the wetness of the land requires them.

An Irish acre contains 7,840 square yards ; if the drains are parallel, and 5 yards apart, then an acre contains 224 perches (of 7 yards) ; if 7 yards apart, 160 perches ; which at 5d. a perch cost £3. 6s. 8d. There are very few places in Ireland where a farmer cannot get them well done at 5d. a perch ; for the difference in the wages of labour is met by as great a difference in the skill and strength of the men. The length of drain that a man will make in a given time, depends on the degree of hardness of the ground, which must sometimes be broken with a pickaxe, instead of dug with a spade ; on the abundance of stones, whether just at hand to be picked up in the field, or to be taken out of a quarry and hand-broken, and whether far off or near. The farmer can either set the drains to be wholly done by the piece, or, the much better way, have them opened, and the stones left at certain distances at their sides in heaps by the piece, and come with his own best

men to fill them up. £3. 10s. is a fair average expense for thorough-draining an Irish acre; so that £350 capital would drain 100 acres—about 162 English.

The change for the better that immediately follows thorough-draining in wet lands, must be seen to be believed. A man must ride over farms, and find fields firm under his horse's hoof, well laid down in grass, and fit for the plough at any season of the year; where beyond the ditch, right or left, above or below, lies poor land full of rushes, with a little warm grass, and too soft for any hoof. All the fields lie under his eye at the same time. Their soil is the same; but what a difference in their appearance! A ditch divides greenness from barrenness, dry from wet, 30s. an acre from 10s. an acre. A man must see a great many examples of this beneficial change in all kinds of soil, before he can fully feel how much Ireland owes to Smith of Deanstown, who, whether inventor or not of thorough-drains, first brought them into general repute, put together their principles in a good system, and gave them his own name.

Men have often pretended to discover the special hand of Providence in matters of less importance than, I will not say the discovery, but the general introduction of thorough-drains into Ireland, at this stage of her agricultural and social state. People are just beginning to pay a close attention to agriculture, and to spend their money and labour on the land. How fortunate then that thorough-drains come in to put the land in a state fit to receive all this labour, much of which would otherwise be thrown away, or give very little fruit. How fortunate that so great an outlay of labour is called for before the wages of labour rise high, as they certainly will do, and by their dearness, as is now the case in England, check the farmer's enterprise! How fortunate that in a populous country, wholly

depending on agriculture, where the people live wretchedly in the midst of abundance for want of employment, a system should suddenly come into general notice, obliging the farmers to lay out a vast deal of labour on the land, and in its increase of value paying for its wages !

In April, 1843, I came from Liverpool to London, by the railway that runs through a very fair sample of the midland counties ; about two-thirds of the land that comes under the traveller's eye on both sides is in old grass, one-sixth in autumn-sown wheat, one-sixth in plough-fallow, ready to receive turnips, vetches, &c. On this line of road everybody must observe that a great deal of the land stands much in need of draining, either from the rushes, (that are easily seen at this time of year,) or from the high narrow ridges, which the wetness of the land obliges the farmer to sow his corn on. The English agriculture looks well to a careless eye, because the fields are laid out on a large scale, bounded with neat hedges and hedgerow timber, and quite free from weeds, and because there are everywhere signs of care and neatness. But a more accurate examination will discover a great many faults, which only rich Englishmen, with plenty of capital, could afford to run into. Where the soil is dry and porous, the wheat crops, which are Farmer Bull's mainstay, are put in well. And a great deal of land will give good corn-crops under the more steady sky of England, that would require drains in Ireland. But if the land is bad, (I speak of the midland and southern counties, not of the north) John Bull very seldom thinks of improving the soil by thorough-drains and a succession of crops. The great expense of spade labour, and small area of land in potatoes, (such an excellent crop for improving land) is also against him. Then look at the row of three, four, or five horses before his plough, where a

Scotchman would plough with a pair ! look at his great barns, while the Scotchman, in a worse climate, and further to the north, stacks all his corn on stands, at little expense, and free from vermin. Look at his clumsy waggons, instead of the one-horse Scotch carts. But where in the whole world is there a class of men more deaf to reason, more full of old saws, maxims, and phrases, so averse to change of every kind, as the English farmer? except perhaps the English clergyman and the English lawyer: the tori may fairly challenge the world. Compare Farmer Bull with the small Irish yeoman in intelligence and quickness, who follows Blacker's and Smith's rules, not blindly, but with reference to the nature of his own soil, as thousands of Irish yeomen have done in a few years. What a country would Ireland soon be, with the same overflow of commercial wealth into all ranks of life !

While people blame the common and very bad system of tillage in Ireland, it must be remembered that in a great many cases the innumerable ditches that cut up the country into little fields, like the pews of a church, serve as drains ; that the narrow and high corn-ridges are made of that shape and size to throw off the water ; that the land cannot be laid down level in corn, or sown in grass, because from its wetness, there must be furrows to carry off the water ; if laid down level, it would soon become a swampy marsh, or only give coarse rushy grass ; for the same reason, turnips, green crops, &c., cannot be grown : in short, until the land is laid dry by thorough-drains, the good agriculture could not be introduced with advantage.

The Irish are easily led astray by their passions. Any demagogue who can stir up their hearts by appealing to their love, hope, or revenge, and with reference to their

religion or country, can lead them where he pleases. How often have they lost character and fortune in the chase ! But of the two, is not the man's character, who must be led through his passions, far higher than the sordid slave of self-interest, cold as a stone to every influence for good or evil, till it bribes his selfishness ? The warmth of heart in the Irish peasantry is a rich mine of every generous feeling that ennobles man in his pure and simple life ; but a mine that has been hitherto too often worked by adventurers for their own gain, too seldom with advantage to themselves and their country. Where else but in Ireland would millions of poor people have given up by a voluntary oath for life, what has hitherto been a chief source of their pleasure ?

The small tenant-at-will farmers about Ballandine, in the great labour they are spending on thorough-drains, are a most honourable example of the influence that earnestness and ability, with good motives, will give a gentleman over the Irish peasantry.

Mr. Joseph Lambert is neither their landlord, clergyman, or landlord's agent, yet in a poor and remote place has started works that, I venture to say, in their circumstances are without a parallel in Ireland.

This gentleman gave the neighbouring farmers plenty of example and advice ; example first on his own large farm, and advice afterwards on their small bits of land. Mr. Lambert luckily has some large fields laid down in excellent grass, that had been, as everybody knew, useless swamps—to point to, as an irresistible proof of the good fruits of thorough-drains.

Common sense soon shewed them that the great increase of quantity, and its better quality, would amply repay the expense.

It was still very difficult to persuade tenants-at-will to lay out so much money or money's worth on their farms. "Sure," your honour, "we know all you say is right, but the time will come bye and bye, when it will come against us, or against our sons."

For the following reasons, it is very desirable that tenants-at-will should drain their farms *wholly at their own expense, and that therefore landlords should take the necessary steps to give them confidence of possession and enjoying the fruits of their labour.*

(1.) The minute size of their farms and fields would make any *effective* interference of the landlord, as with a view to share the expense, very irksome to both parties, and would open the door to a good deal of roguery.

(2.) It is a process that *in their hands* does not require any capital in money. It does not send a man, in the beginning, to lay out a shilling in the next town for seeds, or tools, &c. The drains about Ballandine are well done with the loy, (the light Connaught spade) and the crowbar in some cases, i. e. with tools that every farmer has got already in his house. It merely requires hand-labour. The man must draw upon the bank of idle days in winter, that he would otherwise spend in his cabin, roasting his heels in the ashes.*

* The Irish peasants work like horses at seed-time and harvest, but all the rest of the year do very little on their farms, and work so lazily and slowly that half the time ought to leave better work done. Yet in harvest-time thousands and thousands migrate from the west of Ireland to earn a few pounds by hard labour, and great abstinence in meat and drink, in England. They walk to and from the seaports. The Irish labourers are not only the best labourers in the world, but the worst paid. Labour that in England, or America, or France, would feed, clothe, and lodge a man well, and enable him to lay by a stock for old age, will not give him in Ireland milk with his potatoes. The common rate in Connaught is 6d. a day; the

But, a stranger would say, there must be some mistake here. Their eagerness to work for wages, indeed to get any wages, shows them to be industrious. Yet the miserable appearance of their own farms, their bad fences, weedy crops, wasteful manure-heaps, betoken as much folly as laziness. *There certainly is a great mistake*, not in this book, but in their economy. From harvest till seed-time is an idle time. I wish to show that the small farmers could easily thorough-drain their lands, without neglecting any necessary work, or distressing themselves in any way; and I state, what every Irishman knows to be true, that they have a great many idle days to spare every year.

But is it likely, that the benefit of thorough-drains, will urge men to work, who, in their own old way of farming, might usefully lay out a great deal more labour? Yes, just as ten shillings will urge a man to move, where half-a-crown would not.

Every winter, on an average, a small farmer could easily thorough-drain an Irish acre, with the assistance of his children in gathering stones; and there are few houses without one or two strong sons. Thus, in a very few years, all the wet land on the small farms would be fit to be put into a good course of crops.

SUBSOIL-DIGGING.

The subsoil-plough is not wanted, and will never come into general use in Ireland.

labourer finding himself. If the day turns out wet, the labourer is sent home, and paid only for the time he has worked—a case that often happens in a climate that reckons 200 days more or less wet. Yet this slight pay would draw thousands of men to any spot in Connaught, and (which is the great pity) *from their own farms*, where their labour might be spent with so much more benefit to themselves.

1st. There are physical obstacles in its way, in the number of large stones, in the shallowness of the soil on rocks, and also in the great unevenness of the ground, which can never be laid out in large level fields like England and the lowlands of Scotland. There are, of course, many places within so large an area as Ireland, where a subsoil-plough could work; but the general character of the country is stony and hilly.

2d. The wages of labour are so low, that it is not necessary, and would be almost unfair, to have recourse to machines.

3d. If the land lay as level as a table, and if wages were as dear as in England, still the farms are too small, (and therefore the fields—for a farm must be divided into fields, till the cattle are all kept in-doors,) and the farmers too poor for a plough that requires four horses and upwards. Any one of these three reasons would keep the subsoil-plough out of Ireland; which circumstance need not be regretted, as the spade in the hands of an Irishman, even at one shilling a day, is a much cheaper and more effective instrument.

Suppose the subsoil requires to be broken, either to let the surface-water through a stiff thin *pan* into a rude porous stratum, or into the thorough-stone-drains; or in dry land, merely to give the roots of the plants admission into more soil to search for food. The potatoe-crop two years successively in lazy beds, gives the farmer a cheap and easy way of thoroughly subsoiling his land with the spade. Suppose the potatoe ridges to be five, and the furrows two feet wide; then, after the crop is dug out, turn up nine inches on each side of the ridge, on the three-and-half remaining feet in the middle, thus leaving the furrow three-and-half feet wide. There, in the furrow, is the naked subsoil. Dig

the furrows in the course of the winter; fifteen men will dig the furrows in an acre of ground, i. e. will dig half an Irish acre in a day. (I allow a good many, as the subsoil is most likely hard and strong, and as there will be some large stones to be taken away,) for there is now as much land in ridge as in furrow. The frost too improves the earth, both on the ridge and in the furrow. Then, in spring, dig the furrows for the second crop in the middle of the ridge, and repeat the same process next winter; so that thirty days' labour subsoils an Irish acre.

DRAINAGE-LAWS.

A great many sincere friends of agriculture, desirous of its advancement, and disgusted at its slowly-progressing state in the country, from the ignorance and *vis inertiae* of the farmers, in spite of the numerous examples of its success, wish the legislature to interfere in various ways for its sake, especially in the case of drains which require a large outlay.

But for several reasons, laws of this kind do more harm than good. Self-interest is not only the best, but, in a free country, in most cases quite a sufficient stimulus for every profitable work. And what is an agricultural improvement but a profitable outlay? It is only desirable to improve the land within the limits of beneficial fruit on the outlay. A farmer's object is not to improve the land, but to make money.

Where there is a will, there is a way; and as soon as the people in general become sensible of the advantages of good agriculture, they will find means of getting the necessary capital; and, in the mean time, any artificial help would do them harm in the end, by inducing them to rely more upon this help, than on the careful application of their industry to the land, which alone can, and alone is

well able, to repay them. † But especially in Ireland, where property lies in large masses, and in the hands of gentlemen, legal interference with the management of property is not required; for if the change in any particular case is strongly recommended by its own advantages, the influence of the possessor-in-fee will, in almost all cases, gain the concurrence of all the small tenants, *e. g.* to change the course of a river, of a road, &c.; and if several gentlemen must agree in some useful work before it can be carried out, we must suppose in their favour, who have so great a stake in the welfare of their property, in the support of their local influence, which would be tarnished by opposing a work of great public utility, or by introducing a job solely for their own advantage, that in an average of cases the affairs will be as well and as cheaply done as by the interference of commissioners. There are certainly examples, where selfish men, even to their own loss, will find a pleasure in thwarting some useful measure, much wished for by their neighbours; especially in the cases of mill-drains, where the rent of the meadows overflowed by the back-water of the drain, would pay far more than the mill; and in other cases relating to the use of water, as the water-course is the common boundary of property in Ireland, and also happens to be the seat of the most expensive public works, as bridges, drain-cuts, mill-dams, &c. Still, inquiring into cases of this kind, I have often found the case to be, A's mill-dam injures B's, C's, and D's land. B and C will give A even a high price to throw down his dam, but D will not give a penny; and B and C alone cannot remunerate A for the loss of his mill. Besides, A expects to get more than the worth of his mill, *i. e.* a fancy price. A few years afterwards D changes his mind, and B and D will subscribe, but now

c will not join; they thus throw the blame upon each other. There are cases in Ireland where so much land is injured in this way, as at Ballinasloe, Ballinrobe, &c., that it would be almost worth while to introduce a special act, to compel all parties to come, *pro bono publico*, to a fair arrangement.

CHAP. V.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

STATESMEN SHOULD LISTEN TO THE CRY OF MILLIONS.

IRELAND OUGHT TO HAVE SOME KIND OF DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE.

AN IRISH PARLIAMENT WOULD NOT WISH TO WITHDRAW FROM THE

BRITISH EMPIRE.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

IRISH ABSENTEES.

THE cry of millions for any political change ought to be well attended to by the men at the helm of government, and by every good citizen. The more voices join in the cry, the louder and longer their shouts, so much the more carefully should the cause of so much noise be inquired into : for so much zeal must modify all the internal circumstances of the State, like a fever in the natural body ; and whether the change be good or bad, might, by a favourable union of weakness for a season in the government, and of fresh, perhaps foreign, strength in its supporters, suddenly throw the whole country into disorder.

What feeds this great fire ? Cut off the supply of fuel, and it will soon die out of itself—the hotter the quicker ; a free people leaves very weak fire-engines in the hands of its governors, for fear they might some times play them against itself.

The cry for Repeal, in its worst consequence, will force her majesty's ministers, perhaps less openly than formerly, to govern Ireland on the infamous old plan of *divide et impera*—pitting the Protestant North against the rest of Ireland. Happily for England, the cry for Repeal comes from O'Connell, the least likely man in Ireland to conciliate the Protestants; otherwise, a very little would draw them, heart and soul, into the same cause. Then farewell Ireland to England—though the Queen would still have as loyal and as affectionate subjects in her kingdom of Ireland as in her palace of St. James.

To repeal the Union would be only pulling down the house; but what kind of house would be built up in its place?—There's the rub.

Ireland is prosperous, and growing stronger and richer every day?—So much the more will she wish to govern herself.

Ireland is getting poorer and poorer?—So much the more will she wish to change a political system she will look upon as the cause of her distress.

But she does govern herself, just as England and Scotland govern themselves, by her fair share of deputies to the Imperial Parliament. As an Irish churchman by birth, and in my heart, how can I speak honestly, openly, and without reserve, of a question that wholly depends on the temporal possessions of the Irish church? It is the common opinion, that if Ireland was governed by her own Houses of Lords and Commons sitting in Dublin, under the Sovereign of England, the pressure from without would soon force her Parliament to take some of these possessions from the Irish Protestant, and perhaps convey them to the Irish Roman Catholic Church.

Thus, all the Protestant Irish clergy, and, by sympathy,

their brethren in England, are to a man, for Union with England at any price.

THE IRISH HOUSE OF PEERS.

There are about 204 Irish peers, including 77, who have seats in the British house. Many Englishmen have been made Irish peers, without land, or house, or family in Ireland; the minister wishing to please the vanity of some supporter, and yet not to waste his highest honours—a very bad compliment to Ireland.

Then many Irish peers have much more valuable estates in Great Britain than in Ireland.

In short, so many would not attend in Dublin, that their average muster would scarcely be 100; the very great majority would be of the Reformed faith, and almost all would be strong and sincere supporters of our excellent constitution of King, Lords, and Commons.

There are not, thank God, in Ireland any dense masses of hand-workmen crowded in large cities, liable every now and then to be thrown into distress by changes in foreign countries, the miserable machines of immense fortunes. How easy would be the progress of Ireland under an enlightened Parliament! The feelings of the people, glad to see their own Parliament and their best families at home, their agricultural industry, all would work well with an aristocracy that I believe would possess much affectionate influence both as landlords and legislators. A change would certainly take place in the position of the Irish Protestant church. The Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops would possibly get seats in the House of Lords as well as the Protestant, and also some income from the state; but I do not believe that any violent changes would be made, or that any men would be deprived of their incomes, or that any priests of any church would be able

to lead the people to wish for any measures that were not strongly recommended by common sense and common justice.

The Irish landlord who does his duty, is not merely respected but beloved by a very generous and sensible people. Difference of religion does not blind their eyes to his good and honest qualities; and in a just and severe exercise of his authority, where the motive plainly lies in his sense of public duty, will be well supported by all classes of his countrymen. The Irish Protestant clergy are respected for their integrity, and independence, and benevolence. Any true gentleman will win the people's esteem. Why does Irish history exhibit so much gross bigotry, blind cruel religious bigotry, the worst passion that can lay hold of the heart? Because religion on both sides has hitherto worn its most unamiable dress.

But suppose that the Irish House of Lords by its great majority did its best to keep peace between England and Ireland, a firm peace resting on community of interest in the general welfare of the empire; while the great majority of the Commons wished to separate Ireland altogether from England, and to bring down the British empire by removing a principal support, is it likely that the personal and official influence of the Lords, supported by the third estate of the realm, the Queen, could, in case of repeal of the Union, at first stand against, and afterwards by degrees reduce, this great majority? Certainly yes. The fever of political enthusiasm might for a time send many deputies to the Irish House of Commons, anxious at any price to raise up Ireland's independence. But the secession of Ireland from the British empire would keep Irishmen out of the most flourishing, the richest commercial company in the world. (For what else is the British

empire but a great commercial company? Has it not conquered and kept the East and West Indies, Canada, the Chinese islands, Cape of Good Hope, &c., all in the view of commerce?)

But Ireland in withdrawing from this united empire, like a partner retiring from a firm, would draw out her capital? Nay; Ireland is not strong enough. She can withdraw herself, but it must be with the loss of her capital. It is needless to show what widely-spread, what terrible injury a step of this kind would bring upon all Irish families. But Ireland has a surplus abundance of corn and cattle, wherewith to buy what she wants abroad; and if her rich men only lived at home, would soon be more happy and prosperous, even if depending wholly on her own resources, than as a second-rate member of this empire? This is not true. Common sense will not require an answer. The great body of the people would, I believe, soon come round to support what at first might be a minority in the commons, determined to keep up the United Empire. As its member, Ireland has all she would have alone by herself, and a great deal more besides. She might at this minute send more ships to the colonies, instead of buying their produce at second-hand from the English wholesale merchants, if, like the Scotch, her merchants worked hard for themselves with industry and perseverance.

Yet absenteeism is so terrible, so general a calamity, comes home to so many families, and is so very much encouraged by a political system, that more and more every year draws our best and foremost men, our richest, most popular, most powerful men, away from their country to London; that, let the pain of the disease only get a little worse, or the remedy look a little better, and the poor kingdom of Ireland will gladly submit itself to the surgeon's knife.

What would John Bull say, who thinks there is little reason in the cry for repeal, if all the British peers and members were obliged to spend most of their time and most of their money in Paris?

On! that is quite a different case? Yes, certainly; because the pain now is in *your* own foot, not in mine.

Norway and Sweden since 1814, are just what Ireland and Great Britain would be, if the Union were dissolved.

Norway governs herself by her own Storting, (Great Assembly,) divided into two houses, under the King of Norway, who lives at Stockholm under the higher title of King of Sweden.

Till 1814, Norway belonged to Denmark, and was governed by kind but absolute kings, that lived at Copenhagen, without any representative deputies. All her best and richest families lived in Denmark, and at Copenhagen, as in our case in Great Britain and at London.

Norway and Sweden were then what France and England have sometimes been called—natural enemies. Norway has now her own army and navy, flag, coin, and parliaments. The analogy only fails in one case.

The Norwegians from time immemorial have been pure democrats, dividing at their death all their possessions between all their children, and despising titles.

Old families, old blood, and old customs, are as much honoured in Norway as elsewhere, indeed much more than in England, for the peasant is there proud of his ancestors; but still the Norwegians do not think that a title given to a man by the king can in itself give him forthwith any new claim to the respect of his countrymen, or to any political power.

The ratio of Norway to Sweden in wealth and number is about the same as between Ireland and Great Britain. Till

1814, Norway was a miserable backward out-farm; now a very flourishing kingdom.

I confess when I saw the Storting sitting at Christiania, galleries full of men of all classes, listening attentively to the debates of their own countrymen about their own affairs with pride and confidence, I could not help regretting our own miserable divisions, that oblige our best men to forswear the exercise of this best and most natural right of self-government, rather than run the risk of falling into civil anarchy.

Emerson Tennent, a few years ago, wrote a book on Belgium and Holland, to show that (first) it would have been better for Belgium to have remained united with Holland; next, that in the same way it would be better for Ireland to remain with England. Now, while I clearly see the great mutual advantages of union, especially in the case of England and Ireland; and hope and believe that their union will continue, and become in time a union of blood, affection, and interest, as well as of law; still, where is the analogy in the position of Belgium to Holland, and of Ireland to England, except that the former are Roman Catholic, the latter Protestant countries? Belgium devoted to manufactures, Holland to commerce; Belgium joined to Holland for the first time in 1814, Ireland that has been seven centuries under the crown of England; Belgium that has gone from Holland to choose a king of its own, Ireland that wishes to remain under the King of England, but to manage her own internal affairs at home. Weak arguments injure a case, for we suppose them to be put forward for want of better.

Because the riotous beehives of Ghent, Liege, and Brussels, misuse their liberty, does it follow that an Irish Par-

liament in College Green, or four provincial assemblies in the four provinces, could not peaceably and well carry on the country's business in the midst of an agricultural people.

Emerson Tennent points to Belgium and Holland, I point to Norway and Sweden; but think examples from history can very seldom be quoted as a rule to ourselves; for *two countries are never alike in all their circumstances, and every country, like every man, must do the best it can in its own.*

It had been hammered into Charles Xth's head, that Louis XVIth lost his crown for want of decision; and one morning he published his ordonnances. But, lo! the times had changed, and within a week his whole family were exiles.

Union is strength; but it must be union of interest and affection, not of force. Ireland must be a consort-frigate on the same voyage with England the man-of-war,—not a prize manned with some of its crew, and looking out for the first occasion to escape. England and Ireland must be the hunters that together pursue, together share the prey; not the hunter, and his dog that runs down, but must not touch the game. England and Ireland must be the friendly workmen; these tilling the ground, these weaving cloth, forging iron, &c. Not the master and his men, not the man and the tool in his hand.

Union is strength. But how little union has there been between England and Ireland? As much as between two hounds coupled together. Is a railroad to be run from Paris to Orleans, or Rouen, or across the Isthmus of Panama, or from Cairo to Suez; is a canal to be dug in America, or a mine in Peru or Mexico; English capital

in abundance will immediately take up the scheme; while an Irish landlord cannot borrow money at 4 per cent to improve his estates.

But the cause is the want of confidence of private men in Irish security, therefore why blame the government? Why, does not the British government consist of private men, of just the same animus, who with the reins of government in their hands for centuries, have not put this great and fertile island, alongside their own shores, in good order to receive the peaceable application of capital. Call a government by what name you please, Free, or Mixed, or Monarchical, &c., that is the worst which for centuries leaves the bad just liberty enough to do mischief, to keep the water muddy—the good just strength enough to feel injuries they cannot ward off; to keep down weeds they cannot kill; with a prosperity in sight, that, like the fruit in the fable, their hands can never reach.

The religious reformation in England and Ireland was but a half-and-half measure, leaving, in the connexion between church and state, in the lay patronage, in the unequal wealth of offices, in the feeble and irregular episcopal power, the seeds of weaknesses and abuses of every kind. Hence the English and Irish churches have ever since been silent because weak, lazy because rich, jealous because afraid of popery. Between dissent and popery her ministers have suffered all the disadvantages of a false position. But if learning wisdom under the pressure of new circumstances, as the danger of insubordinate savage masses in the large towns, and necessity for a regular and comprehensive system of mental discipline over the millions, the English church gets that strong hold upon the people that the Roman Catholic did formerly, and can stand firmly on its own ground and by itself, then this powerful church, no

longer blinded by the sympathy of a common danger, will suffer the English people to judge more fairly the case of the Irish church *versus* the Irish people, while the Protestants on both sides the channel, who have said so much in praise of its usefulness, must be hypocrites indeed, if in case the state took up some of its revenues in the south and west of Ireland, they did not support out of their own pockets what they liked so much while paid for by the people. Whether the Union last or not, Ireland will not be a peaceable country, while the many are taxed to support the church of the few.*

It would be foolish to suppose that in time of peace, a great many of the rich Irish families will not always choose, for purposes of pleasure, health, and information, to travel in England and on the continent, or that a remote island on the verge of Europe, will ever draw to itself as many travellers from the rest of the world, as will spend as much within Ireland, as Irishmen do elsewhere, i. e. the net stream of expenditure will always set from Ireland. Again, London as the head of the political system Ireland belongs to, will always attract a great many of the chief families, and of the merchants, and of all classes, for purposes of business. While Rome, as the religious centre of the bulk of the people, will also continue to call a great many Irishmen from their country: patriotism will not check these causes of absenteeism in any great degree. Indeed, as the country grows richer, and as civilization

* The common arguments of English clergymen about the Irish church, are almost incredible in their cant and violence. Croly, LL.D. in his "Historical Sketches," proves that the Irish church ought to be supported on the truth of Christianity, as if the Roman Catholics were not Christians! Idolatry is an every-day charge brought against them—idolatry that worships God in a bit of wood or stone! See, too, Peel's (before 1829) and Eldon's speeches as to the horrible fruits that would follow a relief bill.

brings the people more and more within the influence of the habits, wants, and manners of the rest of Europe, the love of travelling will probably grow far more general. Besides, a good deal may be said in its favour. A comparison with foreign countries, an eye-sight acquaintance with the state of the people living under different governments and different religions, checks the spirit of bigotry, of inordinate pride in the richest men, i. e. where it would be most mischievous to the country. Above all, it leads them to think, to inquire into the causes of misery and happiness under the different climates, governments, and religions of different countries.

The worst compliment a man can pay the class of gentlemen, is to suppose that their absence is of little matter to their country. Every gentleman ought to look upon this theory of a political economy run mad after money, as an insult to himself.

Suppose (A) is the sum of all incomes in Ireland above 500 a year, and (B) of all incomes below 500 a year, a great share of (A) will always be spent out of the country, much larger than the share of (B). Therefore, all that tends to divide land-estates, tends to keep people at home, and all that tends to throw them into large masses, to increase the absentee-leakage.

Men will always fly to pleasure, if their wings will bear them. That curious bird of these latter times, the fundholder, that flies between heaven and earth, and can light where he pleases, will never stay long in Ireland, or away from the large cities. We can only hope to hold more of our own produce at home, to eat more of our own corn and cattle. But how much of Ireland does not belong to Irishmen! We must buy up their lands by degrees, as they come into the market, and in small parcels.

Suppose Ireland now pays (A) millions a year in taxes of every kind. The absentee does not pay a penny of this sum, because the taxes are on use, not on possession. But if the same sum (A) could be laid on the land, then the absentee would bear his share of the burden. Again, civil honours keep a man at home, and where attached to duties, can only be well done in his own country. Now, suppose that all—but with our Irish Lords and Commons sitting in London, this path leads to Repeal.

CHAP. VI.

MAYNOOTH.

THE CLERGY OF SIX MILLION CITIZENS OUGHT TO GET A GOOD EDUCATION.

IN OUR STATE OF SOCIETY, AND UNDER OUR GOVERNMENT, THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS OUGHT NOT ALL TO COME FROM THE LOWER CLASSES.

THE GOVERNMENT GRANT TO MAYNOOTH HAS BEEN VERY BADLY SPENT, AND OUGHT TO BE STOPPED, OR BETTER SPENT.

LAYMEN OF ALL CREEDS WOULD SUBSCRIBE FOR A GOOD ROMAN CATHOLIC COLLEGE IN IRELAND.

ALL the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland issue from the doors of Maynooth. What more need be said to show that this institution ought to receive the most anxious attention of all our statesmen, and of every honest Irishman who wishes the source to be pure and wholesome, whence so great a stream of authority will continue to flow over the whole island?

Everybody will allow that there ought to be some good religious college in Ireland, where the Roman Catholic priests might be brought up; that the better their instruction, the better the priests; that such an institution requires certain fixed funds, for the support of learned men, to keep up libraries, &c., besides the profit on the expenditure of the young men.

But it is very plain that the expense of a good education at an institution receiving every year a large average number of students, might be pitched at such a rate, that their payments would wholly keep up the entire establishment. In this case, only a certain class of men could come up, i. e. able to pay their own expenses. But if any third party pays a portion of their expenses, then a poorer class of men will get within reach of the same education.

Now, is it desirable that the Irish priests should all rise from the peasant class?

But any man that chooses can enter? Yes, but men will not send their sons into a profession whose members are all born in a lower class—whether right or wrong, is not the question. The Roman Catholic gentry of Ireland are not found in their priesthood: and the civil consequence of this exclusion is very bad to the country. But you take a low view:—the peasant, if a good religious man, is just as good a priest as a gentleman? Yes; but on the whole, common sense shows plainly that so powerful a class as the priesthood in a healthy community ought to be an epitome in itself of all classes of society; whereas the Irish Roman Catholic clergy are all born in the peasant-class, grow up with its feelings, and use their great official authority in its interests.

The vast wealth belonging to the colleges of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, does not, except in special cases, reduce in any degree the personal expenses of the students.

If the several thousand young men that are always receiving their education at Cambridge met at any town in England, their own funds would board and lodge them just as well, procure them just as good tutors—perhaps much better—and give them in every way just as good an

education. Then what is done with the wealth left to the colleges in times past, and which they still keep in their hands? Why, a fool can ask more questions in five minutes than a wise man could answer in his lifetime. For example, it would be very difficult to answer this question. Indeed, a parliamentary commission is the only instrument that would draw forth a satisfactory answer. It is very pleasantly spent. Twice as much would be very pleasantly spent in time-honoured observances, and does a great deal of good in various channels. I only say, that, except in matters of a mere trifle, the fathers' bills pay fully for all their sons' education.

But we must remember—1st, That all rich laymen send their sons to get their education in the same universities as the Protestant clergy, while the Roman Catholic clergy, by the rules of their church, must live by themselves.—2d. That a higher class will always, in the Protestant Church, be willing to pay for an expensive education, with the fixed incomes and comfortable glebes of a state-church in view. Thus the Roman Catholic gentry require especial advantages to draw their sons into their church's service. I still leave open the question, whether it is desirable that the clergy of a numerous and powerful body should, in our state of civilization, come from the higher classes of society, or at the least, not wholly from the lower ranks of life.

It is wonderful that so large and zealous a body of believers as the Irish Roman Catholics, cannot raise enough money to build a good college for their priests, and to buy libraries, while the young men themselves would pay all their personal expenses. King's and London Universities are good examples of a large company of men establishing good institutions for education by money-shares. The

enterprise, in the case of the Irish priests, would be far more safe, as there could not arise any rival institution: all the Irish priests must come from the place approved of by their church.

Is it not a pity that a miserable grant of £8000 a year should give occasion for an annual display of the blindest religious zeal?—of insults offered to a whole people?

But what claims have the Irish Roman Catholics on the State to support their young priests? Why, poverty; but they are not too poor to supply themselves. Aye, there again lies the question.

Has Roman Catholic zeal lost its hold on their rich men, who in old times freely supported church-purposes?

Pitt established Maynooth soon after the French revolution broke out, that the Irish priests might get their education at home and not abroad, where they would then have probably imbibed Democratical opinions. But the Papal clergy have had more than enough of Democracy in many countries since 1793, in France, in Spain, in Portugal. Besides, the position of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the state is quite different since 1829. If government stopped their grant to Maynooth, is it likely that so large, so respectable a body of men as the Irish Roman Catholics, without any penal law against them, would not establish in Ireland some religious institution, where their priests could be brought up? The travelling expenses to a foreign college backwards and forwards would not leave the priesthood within the reach of poor men's sons. But what excuse could their church put forward, now that it enjoys full liberty, for not bringing up its clergymen at home, like the Dissenters, &c.? Would it not be disgraceful, if it could not supply from its own ranks good professors in every branch of religion and literature?

Again, if some priests went abroad, which they can do now if they choose, and there grew up in hatred of British Protestant institutions, perhaps not more violent than is cherished at Maynooth, what harm could they do now in Ireland? The spark will not set the flax on fire unless it be dry, and the Roman Catholic relief-bill of 1829, has removed the great cause of irritation from the people's minds.

But if the Roman Catholic noblemen, and bishops, and chiefs, came forward openly—"Here are seven millions of people, that in poverty and under oppression for centuries, have clung faithfully to the religion all your ancestors once warmly professed; under which they prospered for centuries, lived happily, and won for England a most honourable name in Christendom. The Irish peasantry ask you to subscribe to build a college for their clergy, where the same faith will be taught, that centuries ago left Oxford and Cambridge richly endowed for your use, that consoled your kings and great men, your favourite poets and philosophers, whose memories you love, whose names you are proud of; that laid the basis of every great institution in your land, that built your cathedral churches, that when rich used its riches nobly, and now, not for any selfish purposes, asks your assistance, but in the spirit of universal charity."

Surely of all bodies of men in the empire, the Roman Catholic has a good right to meet with liberal aid from every Englishman proud of his country.

Any man who considers the state of their church in Ireland, at this day, and for some time back, (for example, how seldom its clergy have shone in literature, that elsewhere have been its brightest ornaments, or in science; again, their wonderful influence over the people, man by

man, and the high character time may soon call upon them to play in Irish history,) must wish that a higher tone of feeling, less eagerness to use their force, and always with the stream, and a more dispassionate view of the peculiar faults of the rich and the poor, of the powerful and of the weak, (into which two classes, mankind, from the days of Adam, have been always divided,) should soon distinguish the Irish priests.

Still it is paradoxical to take money away from an institution, in order to get a higher class of officers; a better *bonâ fide* administration of the government-grant might remove much of the political and religious bigotry of Maynooth. Besides, young men of good Catholic families, and brought up in a Protestant country, (unless taught when very young,) dislike the lonely severe life of a Catholic priest.

Rest from labour is a luxury to men, whose fathers and brothers live by their hands—a luxury that often tempts them to spend their lives in a kind and charitable indolence. Yet how much does not the country—the people, require to learn from the priests! Again, the natural wish of leading the people, in the absence of better claims, seduces them to low political intrigues. I know that a harsh view might be taken of these observations; and the character of the priests, in many cases, very favourably compared with the clergy, whose position removes them too much from intercourse and sympathy with the people. But I do not hesitate to say, that it would be better for the people, for the state, and for the Catholic church itself, if a good many of the priests were gentlemen by birth; and also, that where more than seven millions out of nine in the same country are of the same faith, their clergy ought to be paid by the state.

CHAP. VII.

POTATOE-FED PEASANTRY.

IRISH AGRICULTURE.

CORN-ACRE SYSTEM.

VOTES.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

O'CONNEL'S CHARACTER.

POOR-LAWS.

A CORN-RENT.

IRISH RAILWAYS.

POTATOE-FED PEASANTRY.

THE west of Ireland is divided into very large grazing and very small tillage farms, on an average perhaps less than two Irish acres, paying (say) £2. 10s. a year in rent. Now, how can a large family, without any money-capital without any kind of industry, feed, clothe, and support themselves in every way on two Irish acres, and besides pay £2. 10s. a year in rent, and priest's dues, and county-cess, with a share of the poor-rate, all out of their produce?

Why, an Irish acre gives from 1,500 to 2,500 stone of potatoes: 3,000 is a large crop, and requires good manure. Now, six stone of potatoes a day give the whole family an ample potatoe-diet, and feeds one or two pigs besides. Potatoes and salt, sometimes with a little fish, is the food of thousands, *all* the year round. Even the pigs (which must surprise an English farmer) grow to an immense size

on this food. The people have not even milk. But how does the farmer manure his land without cattle? Why, his farm is always half in oats or wheat, (which pays his rent, supplies him with money for shop-goods, &c.) and half in potatoes, (which feeds his family,) with a few perches of flax for the women to spin. The oat-straw, laid in alternate layers with peat-mould, makes the manure-heap, with the refuse of the cabin and piggery, and the whole labour is done by the spade. Allow five to each family, (which is too little in Ireland,) and a family to every two Irish acres, and an Irish square mile will hold about 20,000 people, which, (if the grass-farms are not included,) is about the rate in the arable land in Connaught. These people are now so poor, that they sell even their hen-eggs at 4d. a dozen, to be sent to England. On these data, a man can easily build up what is likely to be their character, their intelligence, their fitness for political rights, &c. I will here explain the justly much-blamed

CORN-ACRE SYSTEM

peculiar to the west of Ireland. The large grazier turns over all his money in cattle, keeps all his land in grass, and spends as little as possible in wages, tilling just enough to keep his house, for (without the closest superintendence day by day) the ratio between the wages of labour and the work done, and between tillage-produce and its local value, the tillage-farmer could not, in the circumstances of the country, make as much money as the grazier. But in the densely-crowded villages, there is abundance of labour worth very little to its owners, who without land, or with too little land, and without money to buy, are glad to exchange their labour for potatoes. In spring-time these cottiers hire a small bit of potatoe-land, a rood or half a rood, at the rate of about £8 an acre, and with their wives

and children put the crop in, and do all the labour, at less expense than the large farmer possibly could with men at wages, and pay its rent at harvest-time *out of the crop*. The grazier breaks up perhaps a fifteenth of his farm every year, which gives two or three successive crops of potatoes, and then a crop of oats, all without manure, and at high corn-acre rent. It is then left to skim itself with grass. Thus the grazier gets a good interest for the time (from seed-time to harvest) in a high rent, and the people get potatoes for their labour. But the season is bad, and the crop misses? Then there is great distress. The grazier has their promissory-notes for the rent. But how can they pay the rent without the crop? Then comes the process-server, &c., a common source of outrage. Thus the con-acre is very like the allotment-system, giving shoemakers, tailors, &c., in the country villages, men without farms of their own, the use of land; and if there was more competition among graziers, and less among the poor cottiers, would be of service to the villages without injury to agriculture. It is idle to talk of putting down a system, while it suits two parties so well, and is called into use by the circumstances of the country. But I fear the poor people suffer terribly from legal expenses (as the number of processes at quarter-sessions would show) from a too severe 'Pay me what you owe me,' after a bad season.

IRISH AGRICULTURE.

In Ireland, the number of people in towns, i. e. without land, is happily very small in ratio to the people in the country, who all have land enough to supply themselves with most articles of agricultural produce; in short, the home-market is small, the great English hand-work towns and her ships are the two markets for Irish farmers. Blacker's admirable system of keeping *all* the cattle of *all*

kinds in houses and yards, taking away *all* fences of *all* kinds, except the farm outside-boundary in some cases, and keeping *all* the land broken up in white and green and root-crops, has three great advantages.

1st. *There is* an immense number of people on the land: The country *is* cut up into small tillage-farms. This system does not send them to Canada or Australia, but provides for them well, and without loss to the landlord, at their homes.

2d. Area for area, it employs, with gain, more hands than any system of agriculture.

3d. It pays the rent with cattle, leaving the white-crops to be used by the farmer.

What cut up Ireland into such small farms?—

1st. The natural tendency of a poor people, broken down by political oppression, and disregarded by the upper classes, to increase as far as the limit of subsistence; which, as their thoughts, and feelings, and desires, fell with their humble place, required continually less and less, till nature satisfied herself with potatoes and salt.

2d. The prosperity of the flax-trade during the war, when the industry of a farmer's family, in-doors, paid a high rent for his land.

3d. The political interest of the landlords, while every £2 freeholder had a vote, i. e. from 1793 to 1829.

VOTES.

It is a great pity the ministry do not destroy all the Irish corporations. Where there is so much religious dissension, these abominable corporations are useless schools of jobbery and petty political agitation. Then give a vote to every man rated to the poor at £30 a year in the towns, or £20 in the counties. There is a broad basis for a large electoral body; while an annual registry, at one shilling

each time, would pay the whole expense of a respectable registry-office in every county-town.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

The state has been often urged to pay the Irish Roman Catholic priests out of its treasury, as the French state, whose religion is Roman Catholic, pays the French Protestant clergy; but where could our Chancellor of the Exchequer find the money? It would require one million sterling a year, to give ten-thousand parish priests £100 a year each, besides their sixteen bishops. That salary would be quite enough, with the priest's fees on marriages, christenings and burials, which of course would still continue as in the established church. A priest's income now varies from £200 to £400 a year, depending on the wealth and number of his flock, and is paid in kind and in money: a house-tax, called Easter-dues, is the chief source. The policy of paying the priests has been put forward with the most ungracious reasons, as "with the view of breaking up the close and affectionate alliance between the priest and his flock, by rendering him, in some degree, independent of their opinion;" or, "hoping and believing, that as the priest will take less interest in their number, our schoolmasters, &c., may get easier access to their houses, and lead them in time to our own faith." The priest of course looks with jealousy on a scheme supported with "I give you this salary, not wishing to do you any good, but harm in the end;" and cries with great reason, "*Timeo Danaos, ac dona ferentes.*" I think even a small fixed income would give the priests more comfortable homes, and bring them into more kindly relation to the state; and without lessening their influence, would save them from the necessity of stooping so low to please the people.

It is very desirable that the priest should possess great

influence over a numerous peasantry at so low a stage of civilization as the Irish in the south and west; and the people would not be so peaceable, nor their women so chaste, nor their cabins so happy, in spite of such terrible poverty, if the Roman Catholic priests did not, on the whole, comfort and control them in a great degree. It seems to me absurd for the state to suppose, as it were, that all the people in Ireland belong to the established church, wholly overlooking six millions of people. Surely the state could be of more use, especially in the matter of public religious services, to so many citizens! There is very little difference between the "*laissez faire*" and the "*sauve qui peut*" policy. Besides what church can be the passage of more happiness to a people, or more easily work with a monarchical government, than the Roman Catholic? The wise Austrian government, instead of thwarting this church, put itself at its head, and not only has never had any trouble from the ambition of its priests, but uses their influence in its own political interests. If anybody thinks the people, or their sons, or their grandsons, are likely to give up their fathers' faith, let him look carefully into the fruits of "the Achill mission," and few men will be found more able or zealous than Nangle.

Does not the following case bear out my views? The Roman Catholic bishop of Ardagh, (Higgins) at the great Mullingar repeal-dinner given to O'Connell on Sunday, May 14th, 1843, says, "Every Irish Roman Catholic bishop is an ardent repealer." (Loud cheers for several minutes.) There is the powerful Roman Catholic church committed heart and soul in the cause of repeal. Who will say the cry will soon die off?

The same bishop in the course of his speech says, "I am only an humble man. I belong not only to the people, but

to the very humblest class of the people—(cheers.) I say with pride, that I owe nothing to the aristocracy, except the utmost contempt for the whole class.” (Deafening cheers.)

There is a Christian bishop deliberately urging a great multitude of his flock, by his example, to despise a great class of their countrymen ; with the civil title of “Lordship,” too, before his own name, in the same paper.—*Dublin Evening Post*.

The Roman Catholic Lord Beaumont, a few days afterwards, expressed with great force, in the House of Lords, his disgust at the conduct of the Roman Catholic Irish clergy, in urging the people to call for repeal in a way that must end in blood. In some cases, I believe, the priests are borne along against their wishes ; for, depending on the good-will of the people for their livelihood, they could not stand in the way of the repeal mania. The Roman Catholic bishop of Dublin, (Murray,) has written a letter in the newspapers, that he has always adhered to, and warmly approves of, the rule drawn up in 1834, by the bishops of his church, i. e. that their priests should not interfere in political matters. What a much higher place would the Roman Catholic church now hold in Ireland, if all its priests followed this good man's example !

O'CONNELL'S CHARACTER.

O'Connell, say most Englishmen, agitates repeal in his old age for sordid purposes, to fill his own pockets. His circumstances are very bad, and “the rent,” his only source of income, would soon fall off if the country grew quiet. But O'Connell refused a rich law-office from the Whigs? Yes, not an office for life. He saw that as soon as the Whigs went out, as its acceptance would put him out of favour with the people, he would be thrown friendless on the world.—But, if O'Connell's eye had been upon

money, his great influence would easily have got him a good place. A very clever man, with several sons and nephews in Parliament, and a strong party out of doors, supporting too a weak ministry, if his thoughts lay that way, could always use his votes as a step to wealth. A very common prudence would have put a bridle on his tongue, no matter how strongly his Celtic Catholic heart beat against Saxon Protestant England.

The successful champion of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, might, like many of his followers, without any stain upon his political character, without abandoning a single principle, have been for the rest of his life a moderate Whig in office. In short, O'Connell had plenty to give, which the ministry would have been very willing to take, if he had wished to strike the bargain. India and the colonies supply excellent berths for friends, whose presence at home might embarrass the ministry. Madame de Stael says, "*Il faut juger des hommes célèbres par eux-mêmes.*" A, B, or C, in his place, would either have filled their purses, or put their sons into good offices, or been drawn into the common work of political hacks, and gone 'in' and 'out' every two or three years. But O'Connell has always had his own game in view, and neither understood or been understood by the English people. He has tried to use them as tools in his Irish purposes, and failed for want of sympathy. Well, what is O'Connell? This great demagogue, not thrown up for the season by some city populace, and then cast aside for a new favourite, but the chosen mouth-piece for a quarter of a century of seven millions of people; their eloquent, indefatigable advocate; their hearty leader—now checking the zeal of his countrymen, now urging them on, again holding them at his will within the limits of the law, possessing all along the confidence of the

people and their priests: if avarice, in any shape, is not the spirit that has laboured so zealously, so long; is it lust of power? or is O'Connell put forward by the clergy of a church now fallen into poverty and disgrace, but haunted by the memory of its ancient glory, as their best fighting man? The Italians quote the famous answer, "Siamo Veneziani, e poi Christiani," when they wish to show that some strong popular feeling rests more on a national than a religious base.

I look upon O'Connell as a sincere Irishman after his own fashion, willing, at any price, to separate Ireland from England, and again in Ireland to give its old Celtic people the sway over the rest. O'Connell, like thousands of his countrymen, has not any sympathy with the welfare of the British empire, nor ever forgets the old times when Ireland was a kingdom in itself; and would rather see his country poor and independent, than rich and prosperous in union with Great Britain. As the *dux populi*, O'Connell has always been jealous of any man that attempted to lead the people, even his own way, unless in a place subordinate to his own; and very little scrupulous in keeping all their confidence to himself. This inordinate ambition has obliged him on successive measures to stoop so low to please the people since 1829, that he has shaken off by degrees all the respectable English and Irish Whig families, that at that time heartily supported, and warmly admired him, till, to the great injury of the liberal cause, with all the people at his back, this demagogue has sunk into the mob-orator of repeal, addressing multitudes who cheer such stuff as "When repeal comes, every man shall enjoy fixity of tenure. You know what the rent-charge is, and poor-rate, and county-cess; well, the surplus revenues of Ireland

will pay all these taxes, every man will live in abundance," &c.

Posterity will not be satisfied with the common character of a leader, that has written his name so forcibly on the page of Irish history; the violence of the old man will be forgotten in the bold and eloquent and skilful advocate of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. So much energy, ability, and influence, would long since have filled the pockets of a greedy man. As an Irishman I would wish to take the most favourable view of the best known Irishman all over the world. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill was not only a just and honest measure in itself, but can be well defended by its fruits, in the higher tone of opinion in Ireland, in the more respectful attention to the law, and in the more peaceful habits of the people, in spite of the agrarian outrages in the south, and of the repeal cry in Dublin and elsewhere, from the progressive increase of absenteeism. While I honour O'Connell as its champion, I look with the greatest disgust on his mode of political warfare, and cannot help regretting that in his old age, instead of exciting the silly, but very mischievous passions of the mob, he has not used his great influence to give his country, what she so much wants, internal peace.

POOR LAWS.

"I am old, helpless, and destitute. I have worked hard all my life." Why did you not lay by, in the summer of your strength, a store for your old age? or where are your children, your friends; surely they will receive you into their houses? A poor law blinds the eyes of prudence, and hardens the heart of natural affection. There is its extreme in one way. Next it robs industry of a share of its wages to support the destitution of improvidence as well as of

misfortune. But there always *will be* poor. Is it not better for ourselves to support them in a workhouse, than out of doors by irregular alms, begging along our waysides; and better for themselves, to get a clean and humble bed, and board, and lodging, instead of the very uncertain support of alms, within reach too of medical attendance and religious consolation; while its tests (hard labour, low food, and confinement) keep out the strong and able, except in their last distress, when society ought certainly to step forward to relieve them. In short, the state has a good right for the sake of its citizens to say to the destitute, "you shall not beg alms;" but it must at the same time point to the workhouse, and add, "you will be supported there." A country wants a poor law, as soon as beggars appear. Free industry out of doors requires the workhouse tests to be as severe as humanity will allow them. In England the labourers lean too much on the poor rates. What shall we say then of a compulsory poor rate, as in Ireland, without any compulsory vagrancy-bill! Why, it is both absurd and unjust. The beggar may take his choice, the poorhouse or the road. The farmer must pay poor rate, and must give his handful of potatoes to the wandering beggar. How can flesh and blood refuse to give, what miserable wretches before us continually ask, a little food? But experience is better than theory. There are just as many beggars as ever, in the streets and roads of Ireland. A, B, C, &c., old beggars, go into the workhouse, leaving their old haunts an open field for new beggars, who immediately supply their places. Thus the farmer has a double burden, the old beggars in the workhouse, supported by his rates, and the new beggars on the road, supported by his alms; and hates a law which does not give him a *quid pro quo* for his money. With the

following plan the Irish poor law would soon be both popular and useful—

- (1.) 1s. in the pound to be the *maximum* annual rate.
- (2.) A strict vagrancy-bill.
- (3.) The guardians of any union to be able to suspend from month to month the vagrancy-bill *in their union*, when this rate did not suffice to support their destitute.

The landlord would not then fear a rate, which would never be more than 6d. in the pound for his share, often much less. All parties would like a law which relieved them from the most oppressive tax of wandering beggars.

There are two special advantages in a poor law in the circumstances of Ireland. It is the only tax which comes upon the absentee. His rents are remitted as usual to Naples, Paris, or London, but so much in every pound is kept back by the law to support the destitute, to relieve a social disease, which he is in great measure the cause of. Next, a vast area of land is in the hand of cottier-beggars, holding a cabin with little bits apiece, who lock up their doors in the summer, and beg all over the country. If the landlord turns them out, they settle elsewhere. The law which deprives this kind of men of land is a great benefit to the country. It is idle to suppose that people who pay rates will not also support beggars, while begging is allowed. The custom, blood, and religion of an Irishman will urge him to give, while beggars ask alms. True charity will seek the destitute at their own homes.

A CORN RENT.

The principle of a corn-rent is not, as is sometimes supposed, that the tenant should pay a fixed share of the produce to the landlord for the use of his land, which would be the very worst kind of rent in our system of agriculture,

with so many different kinds of produce and of crop. Vineyards and olive-groves are let in Italy and France for a certain share of the wine and oil, where the crop of the whole farm is of the same kind.

The Scotch corn-rent pays the landlord *all the rent in money*, in two sums — a fixed sum of money, and the money-value of a fixed quantity of some kind of corn, by the official price of the shire. In the Lothians, the rents are the highest, the agriculture the best, and the farmers the most skilful in Great Britain, and all the farms are let in this way, as all over the Lowlands of Scotland, where the farmers too have been much less distressed by the fall of prices since autumn 1841 (owing much more to the good harvests than to Peel's tariff and corn-law, for at this minute, though wheat is down to 47s., the import duty is 20s., or more than 40 per cent.) than in England. Thus experience speaks strongly in its favour. But if our corn-prices were not affected by changes in our corn-import laws, and in foreign tariffs, &c., I think an average might easily be taken between the high prices of bad, and the low prices of good harvests. Suppose p to be the average price that both parties had in view in determining the rent, and c to be an average crop. The harvest is good ($c + d$), and the price falls and becomes ($p - g$); next year the harvest is bad ($c - e$), and the price rises and becomes ($p + r$).

Now, is $(c + d) \times (p - g) = (c - e) \times (p + r)$?

For example, a certain field yields

This year 12 qrs. which at 50s. bring in £30.

Next year 10 qrs. which must fetch 60s. to bring in £30.

Third year, 15 qrs. which at 40s. bring in £30.

Now in a great country, where so many mouths are fed by fixed incomes, in the funds, salaries, &c., it is far more likely that the bad harvest would bring the price up to 60s.

than the good down to 40a., in short, if the same area always supplied the country with food, the farmer would gain more in a bad, than lose in a good harvest, not to speak of the abundance of straw, &c.; but the foreign corn, brought too from both Europe and America, where the season may have been quite different from the season here, gives a fair excuse for a corn-rent. Observe, if this year's crop is one-tenth less or more than an average crop, then this year's price must rise or fall one-tenth of *this* year's price, and *vice versa* to give an equal worth; and the question for landlords and farmers is, does the price vary in this degree? for otherwise one side must lose, i. e. get less than his bargain. The advantages of a corn-rent may be thus put in a few words. It leaves the farmer to contend with the changes of seasons—(good and bad seasons, for example)—which must always continue; and throws upon the landlord, as much as possible, the changes of corn-laws—as less and less duty. The common difference in the weight of corn on the same area, and due wholly to the season, is, I believe, about one-twelfth, which gives the great difference of one-sixth between a very good and a very bad crop; and as the crop is used up for the most part within the year, and as corn is an article always wanted, only political quacks will speak of *fixing its price* by any system of laws. The wonderful machinery that supplies the vast non-agricultural swarms in England, perhaps as great a multitude of men as ever yet dwelt on the same area, with abundance of food at all times and seasons, is the very best sign of our civilization and order. It would be waste of time to say much of the corn laws, as everybody feels that we shall soon have

A MODERATE FIXED DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN,

for the sake of revenue only. It is most curious to inquire

whether this measure will reduce the price of corn, and thereby the rent of land ?

Suppose the case of a very good harvest. Price falls very low. Would not the foreigner from the Baltic and the Black Sea send in corn, till the price in our markets fell to his own home-price + cost of carriage and profit ? No ; our corn-merchants would buy up most of his corn, to keep in their warehouses till the prices rose. And at this minute our corn merchants in good years buy up the surplus corn abroad, to be laid up in foreign warehouses, (which is done at less cost than in our own ports), and wait till the price rises and the duty falls, to bring the corn into our markets, i. e. under a sliding-scale, and under a fixed duty, in both cases all the surplus corn of Europe comes to England, only in the latter case it would come here in a more regular stream, and the interest of the corn-merchant would keep prices more steady than any sliding scale. But the corn price would certainly settle at a lower pitch, perhaps between 40s. and 45s. ; again this low price would both increase the use of corn, and of the still more expensive article, meat, which would soon bring the price up again.*

Besides, prices would rise abroad, or, if a regular corn-trade set in from any place, their government would lay an export duty on, as our government did on our corn till about 50 years ago. Again, an annual importation of (say)

* A sliding-scale urges the corn-dealers to gamble in this way : An English merchant sends for a cargo of wheat from some foreign port, and calculates that some months hence, when it arrives in London, the price will be (say) 60s., and therefore the duty 12s. Now all above or below this price is extra gain or loss. Suppose the price in the mean time has risen to 65s., then the duty has fallen to 7s., thus GREATLY INCREASING HIS GAIN ; suppose the price has fallen to 55s., then the duty has risen to 17s., thus GREATLY INCREASING HIS LOSS.

4 million qrs. wheat at 5s. duty gives 1 million revenue, i. e. just so much less taxes in the long-run. Come what may, our farmers and our landlords are very safe. Countries have been brought down by too little, but never yet by too much food. It is a more serious question whether our manufacturers, accustomed to wheaten food, yet now unable to buy bread at more than 60s., will be long able to buy bread at 40s., for their gains have continually fallen since the war. The case may be put in a more general way—Mankind are increasing rapidly with peace, order, and civilization all over Europe, therefore food prices must increase. The long war threw up a barrier between England and the rest of Europe, which peace is bringing down every day, till England comes into social as well as political harmony with her neighbours; i. e. prices on the continent are rising and in England falling, till they meet, when the general price will continue to rise, as it has done for several hundred years.

IRISH RAILWAYS.

Ireland lies like a stepping-stone in the ocean between England and America. A railroad from Dublin to Sligo or Galway would cut off the dangerous channel-work of the large steamboats, and bring most of the passenger-traffic to Ireland. Cheap labour in abundance would soon lay down the rails across a level country, without any great obstacle in the way; and the land, too, could be bought at a cheap rate.

There is idle capital enough in England; but (1) Irish railroads would not succeed for want of enough traffic in goods and passengers, (2) the people are too disturbed, and might stop the works.

Now, government ought not to let the latter reason stand in the way, and should call itself responsible for the

public peace and security: "If any company choose to undertake the railroad, on the ground of the trade in the country; we will guarantee them from any loss from any public disorder:" just as if a man's mill, or house, or stack, is burnt down by some malicious rogue, the county repays him the damage. Whether it is the government's fault or not, that Ireland is not looked upon as a safe field for English capital, at least, it is the government which keeps in its hands the right and duty, and power of repressing all outrages.

Besides—the name, the promise would satisfy the railroad shareholder. What party in the kingdom would gain by interrupting a great public work of the kind? would not all the upper classes, all the labourers, in short, every sensible man, be warmly in its favour? Still, John Bull wants better security for his money. Why, then, let government step forward, and satisfy him. But might not government take a step further, and advance some of the money, to get works done that would employ so much idle labour, and in every way bring Ireland on in its civilization?

Every body knows that government has made a great mistake in the case of English railroads, a mistake that has buried uselessly some millions of capital, and deprived England for ever of the convenience of the best lines of railroad intercourse. The principle of non-interference of government with private enterprises, has, in this case, done great public harm; or rather a great branch of the public service has been looked upon as a private matter, because taken in hand by private companies.

It is now known that if government had drawn up a railway map of all England by its engineers, with a view to the greatest possible advantage and convenience to the

public, and then let each line between its two great termini to the competition of the public, to be taken up by companies, that a much less total length of railway would have been of more use than all our present lines, and that their courses would have been better laid out. It would be useless to look back upon faults that cannot be repaired, if there was not yet time to avoid them in Ireland. No. 810 of the *Athenæum* newspaper says, "National resources were never more completely squandered than as laid down in the railway map. Two railways, the Northern and Eastern, and Eastern Counties, both run the same way, both are unsuccessful; loss, say one million pounds. The Great Western and South Western might have gone together as far as Reading; loss, say one million. The Birmingham and Derby and the Midland Counties run parallel; loss, say one million. Then four railways, Chester and Crewe, Manchester and Crewe, Newton and Crewe, Chester and Birkenhead, three unsuccessful, loss one and a half million. Then the Manchester and Preston, Newton and Preston, and Leigh and Bolton, loss, say half a million. Then Manchester and Leeds, and Leeds and Sheffield, loss, say one and a half million pounds."

Spakman's tables show, that of the money laid out in English railways, seventeen million pounds pay two per cent. or less. There is a loss of capital!

CHAP. VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS QUERIES.

1. GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.
2. ABSENTEES.
3. PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND.
4. PUSEYITES.
5. NATIONAL INCOME.
6. IRISH CHURCH.
7. SOLDIERS.
8. GAME LICENCES.
9. EDUCATION.
10. EXPENSES OF POLITICAL AGITATION.
11. PAPER CURRENCY.
12. EMPRESS VICTORIA.

1. MAY not Great Britain and Ireland be compared to two dogs, coupled together, of unequal strength, the stronger dragging the weaker its own way, seizing all the best bits for itself, and growing fatter every day?

2. Our king, said a Frenchman of Louis XIV., is the sun of France; he levies vast sums of money, but they come down again in his expenditure in a beneficial rain, like the water drawn up by the sun from the earth, all over the country. If a king is the sun, are not the gentry the stars, and must not a sky without sun or stars, be dark indeed?

3. If the Queen called her imperial parliament of Lords and Commons every third year in Dublin, is it not likely that the Thames would continue to flow just as usual

during their absence ; the French, German, Russian, &c. governments, to mind their own affairs just as usual ; that the Scotch and English members would derive a great deal of benefit from the voyage, spend a great deal of money in Dublin, and see a little of a country they have hitherto talked so much about ?

4. Is it not a rank Puseyite doctrine that every officer ought to observe the rules, he willingly promised to observe on entering his office ? and that every man ought *bonâ fide* to do the duty he is paid for ?

5. Our government must raise about fifty millions a year to meet its expenses ; eight-ninths of this vast sum comes from indirect taxation ; extraordinary expenses are met by direct taxation. Would not the *vice versâ* be the better way ? to pay all our usual expenses by a fair land-tax (say) on the net annual value, and to raise money for unusual expenses, *e. g.* in case of war, on what we consume ? As every penny that goes into the treasury is paid by the nation, is it not childish stuff to try to put this truth out of sight ? and to try to raise taxes which will not be felt ? If a government tries to raise money without letting the people feel how, is it not likely they will try to spend the same without letting the people see where ?

6. Is it not possible to imagine that every Irish bishop, even though not a very clever man, might do some good by living in his diocese ? that every Irish clergyman might do some good by living in his parish ? and that the Irish church would be quite as apostolical as she ever has been, if a bishop had the same authority over his priests, as a colonel over his officers ?

7. Ireland is a great nursery of soldiers ; the state pays about £50,000 a year towards the education of the poor people in Ireland, and has built workhouses for orphans,

&c., might not her majesty's officers refuse to take any young men as soldiers, who could not read and write, thus a better class would come into the army? But, says an old practical officer, the worst men are the best soldiers; say rather, the most desperate tools in any cause.

8. A license to shoot game costs £3 and odd; so high a license, that must be renewed every year, leaves a fowling-piece in very few hands. This must be the case, as very few game-licenses are taken out. On the contrary, every man shoots, that chooses; the law in most cases is a dead letter. A license of £1 a year would preserve game better, for the penalty on trespassing would remain just as high, and there would be less excuse for its breach, and bring in more revenue. If, for example, four men took out a £1-license, where only one man now takes out a £3 license. But the gain would, I believe, be much more.*

9. How does it happen, that for the last twenty years the reports of the schools of different societies, and working of course only amongst the poor, reckon their children by hundreds of thousands; and yet, that there is so little true education in the country? These reports show the attendance at school, not the education; next, what is forced, what is learnt against the grain, and when acquired, is without use, soon dies away. The pay-schools are the best. Till their homes are more comfortable, till their habits change by degrees, till to read and to write will open sources of pleasure and of gain, education will only step forward by dint of money. But cannot the father and mother give their children the best education, to be honest, faithful, industrious?

* Irish game-licenses brought only £10,000 into the revenue in 1842, though the price is about £3. 5s. each.

EXPENSES OF POLITICAL AGITATION.

10. An English landlord can now borrow plenty of money on his land at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent, while an Irishman must pay from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent. Irish landlords pay at the least three millions a year in interest of debts, at an average of (say) 5 per cent. If Ireland was tranquil, or if English capitalists thought Ireland was at peace, the interest of money would fall to the level of England, (say) 3 per cent. So that Ireland pays away more than a million a year in consequence of its bad character for disturbances, and besides loses immense sums that would soon overflow the country, and give work to thousands of labourers.

PAPER-MONEY.

11. Paper-money is the shift of a state in a season of distress, that wants money to carry on its wars, to pay the interest of its debt, &c. This is the origin of all paper-money, i. e. a shift *pro tempore*, and not, as bankers and capitalists would wish the people to believe, its commercial convenience. A king says, "I have not got any more money just now, but take this piece of paper, it shall pass everywhere in my dominions, and when the war is over, I'll give its possessor as much in coin." But the state, buoyed up by this contrivance, runs into new debts, and when peace comes, can only pay their interest. Paper-notes in currency do not save coin either in the whole quantity required in the kingdom, or in the pockets of a single citizen; like the paper-fish at a card-table, notes are as good as coin only while the play lasts. In any case, all large sums between man and man will be paid by paper. If there is, for example, three times as much paper as coin in the currency, then all expenses of every kind are quadrupled in name and on paper. But a great deal is said and

written in its favour? Yes. Paper is an excellent basis for *fictitious credit* and for *bankers' fortunes*. In France there is a pure coin currency; in Sweden an immense quantity of paper-notes down to the value of a penny; (a currency, of course, *must* rest on some quantity of coin, the question is, whether wholly, or on how much). Compare their finances, mercantile credit, &c. Then look at America. Would it not be a wise state-maxim that we should get back by gentle steps to a coin currency? Ought there not, at least, to be some ultimate and known purpose in view, either always to keep up a mixed currency, and in what ratio, or to take in by degrees all the paper? Whig and Tory ministers might then take their own ways to the same place, but now who knows where we are going?

12. Count d'Aranda, a famous Spanish minister of the last century, foreseeing that Spain would not long hold her American colonies, urged his king to give them all feudal independence, to put princes of the blood-royal on their thrones, and assume himself the title of emperor, binding the colonies to the old country by the ties of honour and affection instead of law. Suppose our Queen in circumstances of the same kind, with the same consequences in the future before her, gave herself the title of Empress Victoria, and put, &c.

ERRATA.

Page 2, line 16, for the fullest, read full

— 15, — 21, — If so, — If so

— 71, — 9, — On — Oh

— 82, — 5, — possession — possessing

APPENDIX.

Several arguments in the course of the book stand on these Tables, which we here put altogether, for convenience' sake. The author has wished to show—

- (1) The necessity of a union of interest and affection between Ireland and Great Britain, for the good and happiness of both people.
- (2) How much is still to be done in Ireland.
- (3) That **MUTUAL ESTEEM** can be the only base of true union between Englishmen and Irishmen, and next between Irishmen themselves, as between honest friends of opposite characters.

Let us all, whether divided by blood or by religion, be bound together by sympathy.

Homo sum : Humani nihil a me alienum puto. There are high and noble qualities on all sides; in Englishmen, in Irishmen, in Protestants, in Roman Catholics. Away then with national or religious bigotry !

TABLE A.
POPULATION IN MILLIONS.

	1821.	1831.	1841.
England and Wales	12	14	16
Scotland	2	2½	2½
Ireland	6½	7½	8½

IRELAND.

200 Years ago about.....	1 million.
50 Years ago about.....	3 millions.
Now about	9 millions.
50 Years hence about.....	20 millions.

TABLE B.

In 1831, there were six million men in the United Kingdom more than 21 years old.

EMPLOYMENTS.

	Grown-up Men only.	
	GREAT BRITAIN. Number. Millions.	IRELAND. Number. Millions.
AGRICULTURE—		
Farmers employing labourers.....	190,000	95,000
Farmers not employing labourers.....	170,000	565,000
Labourers	890,000	570,000
MANUFACTURES.....	½	1 40
THE REST—		
In trade	1,160,000	300,000
Rich and professional men, &c.....	215,000	60,000
Miners, fishermen, porters, &c.....	610,000	90,000
Servants	79,000	55,000
Miscellaneous.....	235,000	110,000

APPENDIX.

TABLE C.

ACRES—In Millions.

	In use.	Might be put in use.	Could not be put in use.
Great Britain.....	29	4	4
Scotland.....	5½	6	8½
Ireland.....	12	5	2½

It thus appears, that, bad as our agriculture is in Ireland, still 29 million well-tilled acres in England only take as many men as 12 million acres half-tilled in Ireland.

TABLE D.

REAL PROPERTY.

Annual value of real property assessed to poor-rate in England and Wales..	£62½	Millions.
“ “ “ Ireland (about).....	7	

TABLE E.

SAVINGS'-BANKS.—In 1839.

	Depositors.	Sum. £
England and Wales	640,000	20,000,000
Scotland	35,000	435,000
Ireland	75,000	2,220,000

The interest is less than 3½ per cent per annum.

TABLE F.

BANK NOTES.—In Million £ in 1842.

ENGLAND AND WALES—			Ratio.
Bank of England	17½	} .. 25½	5
Private	5½		
Joint-stock	8		
SCOTLAND—			
Private and joint-stock	2½	.. 2½	½
IRELAND—			
Bank of Ireland	3	} .. 5	1
Private and joint-stock	2		
In United Kingdom—say			30 to 35 millions.

In United Kingdom—say..... 30 to 35 millions.

TABLE G.

ENGLISH AND IRISH CHURCHES, 1835.

	England & Wales.	Ireland.
OFFICES—		
Archbishops	2	2
Bishops	25	8
Deans	29	139
Archdeacons	58	
Prebends	355	178
Canons	291	9
Incumbents	10,718	1,395
Curates	4,813	833
ANNUAL INCOME—		
	£	£
Archbishops and Bishops	180,000	150,000
Average Bishop's income	6,000	7,500
Cathedral and Collegiate Churches	360,000	90,000
Parishes	3,250,000	610,000
Average parish-clergyman's income	285	270

PATRONAGE OF PARISHES—

	England & Wales.	Irish.
The Crown.....	952	131
The Archbishops and Bishops.....	1,248	812
The rest of the Church, Universities, &c.....	3,359	112
Municipal Corporations.....	53	340
Laymen.....	5,096	

It thus appears that half the parishes in England belong to laymen, and three-fourths of the parishes in Ireland to the bishops, which, of course, is much better in every way.

(Reports of Irish Church Commissioners.)

TABLE H.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND IN 1841.

	Schools.	Children.
National.....	2,300*	300,000
Church Society.....	1,200	70,000
* Ulster.....	1,000	
Leinster.....	680	
Connaught.....	200	
Munster.....	500	

TABLE I.

AVERAGE PRICES OF WHEAT and OATS for YEARS ending 1st NOVEMBER.
From Dublin Gazette.

Year.	Wheat.	Oats.	Year.	Wheat.	Oats.
1828.....	27·8½	11·½	1836.....	25·1½	12·
1829.....	34·1	12·4½	1837.....	31·1½	12·1½
1830.....	33·1	13·6½	1838.....	34·8	11·7½
1831.....	31·1½	13·2½	1839.....	41·1½	17·½
1832.....	29·1½	10·2½	1840.....	36·½	15·6½
1833.....	26·7	9·2	1841.....	32·5½	12·½
1834.....	23·1½	10·10	1842.....	28·8½	12·7
1835.....	21·2½	11·8			

The barrel of Wheat..... 20 stone.
" Oats..... 14 "

TABLE K.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

	Towns.	Coun- ties.	Univer- sities.	In all.	People in millions.	Ratio of Members.	Ratio of People.
England and Wales.....	336	158	4	498	16	5	2
Scotland.....	23	30	—	53	2½	½	½
Ireland.....	39	64	2	105	8½	1	1

ELECTORS.

	Counties.	Towns and Universities.	In all (say)	Ratio of Electors to Members.	Ratio of People to Members.
England and Wales.....	485,000	338,000	800,000	1,600	30,000
Scotland.....	48,000	36,000	80,000	1,600	50,000
Ireland.....	68,000	42,000	100,000	1,000	80,000

TABLE L.

	Rent-roll in Millions £.	Ratio of Rent-rolls.	Paper-money in Millions £.	Ratio of Paper-money	Coin in Million £.	Ratio of Coin in Britain and Ireland.	Ratio of Coin to Paper.
England and Wales.....	60	10	25	5	1½	6	1·40th
Ireland.....	6	1	5	1	½	1	1·20th

TABLE M.

Irish money spent in Great Britain.....	Million £.
British money spent in Ireland.....	4 every year.

TABLE N.

RELIGION IN IRELAND, 1733.
[Hearth-Money Collectors.]

Families in Thousands.						Ratio of Prot. to R. C.	Same ratio by census of 1834.
Roman Catholic.	Protes- tant.	In all.					
Ulster.....	40	60	100	385	105	280	1 to 3
Leinster...	90	25	115				
Munster ..	165	15	120				
Connaught	45	5	50				

AGRICULTURE.

TABLE O.

Every farmer that wishes to make money ought to fill up the following tables with reference to HIS OWN soil, climate, and market. Leave as little to guesswork as possible.

CORN TABLE.

In every case take the average in stone-weight for the statute acre.

Kind.	Quantity of Produce.	Value at — a stone.	Weight of a bushel.	Quantity of Seed.	Number of grns. of Seed in a —*
Wheat					
Barley					
Oats					
Rye					

* For example, 45,000 grains an acre, will put a grain on every square foot, &c.

The Irish measure corn of all kinds by weight; the English by size, which is a much worse way.

GREEN-ROOT TABLE.

Drills, thirty inches apart, a plant at every nine inches, will give about 25,000 bulbs to the acre, which, at an average weight of (a) lbs. come to (b) tons, and will supply my cattle-stalls with (c) stone of green food for (d) days.

Pusey says, that 15 ton of Swedish turnips in the Midland Counties is an average crop; which requires only one stone on every two square yards, and surely must be too light.

LABOUR-TABLE IN DAY'S WORK.

An Acre.	Horses.	Men.	Expense.
To get dug.....			
To plough out of lea			
Out of stubble.....			
Second time ...			
&c. &c. &c.....			

DRAIN TABLE.

A statute acre contains 4,840 square yards, or is the square of (say) 70 yards. If the drains are parallel, and five yards apart, i. e. from outside to outside, then an acre contains 968 (say) 1,000 yards of drain, which, done at piecework, at (a) shillings the 100 yards, cost me (b). Calculate in the same way, if closer or wider.

Both in England and Ireland the acre is divided into 4 roods, and the rood into 40 square perches; but the perch in Ireland is 7, in England $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards long. Thus, all Irish measures of length, multiples of a perch, (as, for example, the mile,) are to the corresponding English measures of length as 14 to 11, and measures of area (or their squares) as 49 to $30\frac{1}{4}$. In both cases, the acre = a mile \times a yard, or there are as many acres in a square mile as square yards in an acre.

I take the liberty, with very little knowledge of agriculture, of giving these tables as examples, to show that farmers might easily calculate most of their expenses and receipts. The farmer thus saves time and labour—can look before and behind him, knows what ought to be done, and in what time, &c.

TABLE P.

SHIPPING, DECEMBER 31, 1842.

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
England	17,500	2,300,000	93,000
Ireland	2,000	200,000	12,500
Scotland.....	3,700	485,000	30,000

All the trade between Ireland and Great Britain is regarded as a coasting trade, and therefore not observed in the custom-houses. But to show how little trade Ireland has immediately with foreigners—

1843 (ENDING 5th JANUARY).

	IRELAND.	VALUE.	GREAT BRITAIN.
	£	£	£
Imports from Foreign Countries	1,600,000		63,600,000
Exports to " "	350,000		100,000,000
		From Finance Account.	

TABLE Q.

EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE COLONIES AND ELSEWHERE IN 1842.

To United States.....	64,000	} (say) 130,000.
To North American Colonies.....	54,000	
To West Indies.....	800	
To Cape of Good Hope.....	600	
To Australian Colonies.....	5,500	
To New Zealand.....	3,000	
Elsewhere.....	500	

An emigrant is a man who leaves his old country for ever, to settle in a new home elsewhere, himself and family. Hence none to the East Indies, &c. Observe, HALF our emigrants run to the States. The Canada corn-bill will very likely now draw more to our own colony, Canada. This paper also gives the number who went from English, Irish, and Scotch ports respectively, which division does not show the number of English

Irish, and Scotch emigrants. For example, thousands of Irish sail from Liverpool. Perhaps 40,000 went from Ireland, but (1842) emigration was checked by the bad letters from the too numerous emigrants of 1841, who suffered terribly for want of work in the American and Canadian ports. What will the country do with the poor-house orphans?

Parliamentary Return, ordered March, 1843.

TABLE R.

WHOLE FOREIGN AND COLONIAL CORN

Imported for home use in 14 years—from 1828 to 1842.

			Year's Aver. about
Wheat	..... less than	..... 16 million quarters	.... 1
Oats	"	" 4	" 1
Barley	"	" 8	" 1

Almost all at very low rates of duty.

For example:—Two-fifths of the wheat, two-fifths of the wheat-flour, one-fifth of the barley, paid ONLY ONE SHILLING A QUARTER. Wheat gives about thirteen-fourteenths of its weight in flour, and oats about four-sevenths of its weight in oatmeal; the better the grain the more the flour; and 7 lbs. of wheat-flour make about 9 lbs. of bread. In short, a quarter of wheat gives about 620 lb. bread, which gives a family 4 lbs. of bread a day for four months. If not regarded in this light, what are the voluminous corn-returns but dry and useless rows of figures?—[From Report ordered March 1843.]

Here are the several quantities—

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL CORN.

Imported for home use from 1828 to 1842—(during 9 Geo. 4, c. 60.)

	Wheat.		Wheat Flour.
Foreign	..... 13,500,000 Qrs.	..	4,300,000 Cwts.
Colonial	..... 600,000 "	..	1,750,000 "
Total	..... 14,100,000 "	..	6,150,000 "
	Oats.		Oatmeal.
Foreign	..... 3,500,000 "	..	1,500 "
Colonial	..... 9,000 "	..	20,000 "
In all	..... 3,509,000 "	..	21,500 "
	Barley.		
Foreign	..... 2,800,000		
Colonial	..... a few hundreds.		
Allow 4 cwts. Wheat-Flour to the Quarter of Wheat.			
" 2 Oatmeal			Oats.

TABLE S.

CORN TRADE in 1842—under Peel's Corn-law.

	Imported.	Million Qrs.	Duty Paid.	Average Duty.
Wheat {	in grain 2,700,000 qrs. }	3	£1,200,000	8s. 6d. per qr.
	in flour 1,130,000 cwts. }			
Oats	.....	3-10	85,000	6s. "
Barley	.....	1-13	25,000	9s. "

In 1842.

		Qrs. Wheat.
From Russia	..... 300,000	
Prussia	..... 700,000	"
Germany	..... 200,000	"
France	..... 450,000	"
Italy	..... 600,000	"
Malta	..... 100,000	"

All the Oats from the North of Europe.

It is wonderful that old populous contries, like France and Italy, should send away so much of their wheat, and shows more the poverty of the great mass of the people, than the abundance of grain.—[From Report ordered May 1843.

TABLE T.
MAYNOOTH.

1840.....	437	Students.
1841.....	427	"
1842..:	425	"

SALARIES.

President.....	£326
Bursar	200
Senior Dean	122
Two Junior Deans, each.....	112
Librarian	142
Professors, four—each	122
———— six—each	112

In all, a little more than £2,000 a year between sixteen officers.

The only source of income of these officers is their salaries, with board and rooms.—[From Report ordered May, 1843.

TABLE U.
ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS.

SALARIES.

Three Commissioners, £1,000 a year each.

To Working Clerks, a little more than £3,000 a year.

[From Report ordered April, 1848.

Year 1842.

Receipts into their hands	£105,000
Expenses in building, enlarging, and repairing Churches	42,000
———— in Church Expenses (?)	33,000
Establishment, printing, stationery, &c.....	10,000
Miscellaneous	15,000

[From Report ordered March, 1843.

TABLE V.
IRISH POOR - LAW.

What does all that a grown-up man or woman eats and drinks in a Work-house in a year, cost the people?

	A Day.	A Year.	Price.	Year's Value.
Oatmeal....	7 oz. comes to about 160 lbs.	reckoning at 10s. a cwt.	comes to about 15s.	
Potatoes....	34lbs.	90 st.	2d $\frac{1}{2}$ a stone	19s.
New milk..	$\frac{1}{2}$ pint.	180 pints	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pint	7s. 6d.
Buttermilk	1 pint	180 quarts	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. a quart	3s. 6d.

Only £2 5s. a year !!

And half the poor people in a Poorhouse are children, and cost still less. In English Workhouses they get a little meat sometimes, and a little wheaten bread every day. But a plentiful mess of warm food, the same every day, is both more wholesome and agreeable to the poor themselves, and much cheaper to the rate-payers; variety only pleases when hand-in-hand with abundance.

What are the six reasons that stand at the door of a Poor-house, and will always keep out strong men and women, except in the last distress?

- 1.—The bit of land, the cabin and all, must be first given up. The pauper cannot get in till the clothes on his back are his only possession in this world. It is not a shelter, till the shower blows over.
- 2.—The whole family must go in together, or none.
- 3.—Work without gain. The able must work in the house; and all the produce goes towards the rate.
- 4.—Confinement within its walls.
- 5.—Low diet.
- 6.—Want of amusement, and of family intercourse.

Then what classes will the Poor-house receive in general?

- 1.—Infant foundlings.
- 2.—Orphan children.
- 3.—Old and helpless and destitute men and women.

What do all the officers of an Irish Workhouse cost the people?

	North.	South and West.
Clergyman of Established Church	£40	£20
Roman Catholic Priest	40	50
Presbyterian Minister	40	—
Clerk of the Union	40	40
Returning Officer	20	20
Physician	45	40
†Schoolmaster	20	15
†Schoolmistress	15	10
†Master } Man and Wife	60	40
†Matron }		
†Porter	10	10
†Nursetender	10	10

Thus:—

Salaries.....	340	255
Board and lodging for six	90	60
In all	430	315

On an average, say £350 a year.

Officers marked thus (†) get board and lodging in the house.

TABLE W.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1842.

INCOME.		Million £.
Customs	22½	} .. 50½
Excise	13½	
Stamps	7	
Taxes	5	
Post Post Office	1½	
Miscellaneous	1	
EXPENDITURE.		
Interest of Debt	30	} .. 50½
Civil List, Pensions, Ambassadors, Courts of Justice, &c.	2	
Army	6	
Navy	7	
Ordnance	2	
Unusual Expenses in Canada, China, & India	1½	
Miscellaneous	2	

TABLE X.

IRELAND VERSUS GREAT BRITAIN.

Number of People	} 1 to {	2
Rental		10
Trade		25

TABLE Y.

(From Census of 1841.)

Houses building in	{ London..... only 136.
	{ Dublin..... thousands and thousands on all sides.

TABLE Z.

NORWAY.

Each Storting lasts three years, but only meets (at Christiania) in its first year. Thus, two years of every three, the country is not disturbed by the debates of a parliament. The members get 3½ specie-dollars a day while in attendance, which pays their expenses. In the Tenth Storting, chosen in 1841, and consisting of 101 members, there were 30 Lutheran clergymen, some lawyers, merchants, officers, and full 50 landlord-farmers, i. e. farmers of their own lands. How are the members chosen? The towns send one-third of the whole number. In 1841, in the towns, about 7,500 voters chose 139 electors, who chose 33 members; in the country, about 60,000 voters chose 815 electors, who chose 67 members. There are thus two degrees in their system. The parish is the unit in the first degree, i. e. the householders in a parish choose so many electors, whose number depends on the number of the householders that come to the poll; then the electors from all the parishes in the county, or Amt, choose the county-members. In 1835, the census gave about 1,200,000 souls for all Norway. Suppose half are males, or 600,000, again half less than twenty-one years old, leaving 300,000 grown-up men; so that in 1841, about every fourth grown-up man gave his vote, and not to choose a shadow, for the whole government of the country lies *bonâ fide* in the Storting. The King's veto stands in the way of a law for three Stortings, but if the fourth expresses the same wish, it becomes *ipso facto* law. Did they ever exercise this power? Yes, in 1820 (I think) the Storting took away all hereditary political privilege; and in 1839 passed a kind of popular grand-jury law, i. e. gave the people the whole management of their roads, bridges, &c., which hitherto had been overlooked by the government; in both cases in opposition to the King (the great Bernadotte, now more than seventy years old). In 1821, was passed a very remarkable law (*oplysningsvæsenets' lov*). Up to that time, the clergy got almost all their incomes from fines on leases of the church-lands, in each case for the clergyman's life. This short tenure was observed to keep back agriculture; while, though one-third of the soil belonged to the church, the clergy did not get good regular incomes. So the state took half the church-lands from the church, with the full approval of the clergy, on motives of patriotism, for the purpose of establishing good schools in every parish; and gave the clergy a right to grant leases for a term of years of the rest, at a rent half in money, half in corn. Well, what happened? Why, the land has been so much improved, that the clergy now get more rent from half the old church-lands, than twenty years ago they got from them all. The state did not rob any man of one-fourth of his income, as our state did the Irish clergy a few years ago; nor interfere with any man's

livelihood; nor did the state hesitate to call its power by the right name, but boldly claimed a full disposable right over all church-land, &c., pro bono publico. All was done by degrees, as the clergymen died off, and the detail of the law is most curious.

I give this short sketch of the Norwegian constitution, not as an example to ourselves—we live in quite different circumstances; but as a tribute of humble admiration for institutions most excellent in their own land; nor is there any people in Europe who deserve freedom more than the Norwegians.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page	8.	line	32,	read	earliest	for	earliest
—	56,	—	4,	—	religious	—	religious
—	67,	—	10,	—	bad	—	warm
—	69,	—	10,	—	two	—	two
—	82,	—	8,	—	was	—	were
—	96,	—	11,	—	1 630	—	20,000
—	96,	—	19,	—	con	—	con
—	99,	—	8,	—	£150,000	—	one million
—	99,	—	9,	—	1,500	—	ten thousand
—	123,	—	10,	erase from	"In both"	to	"an acre"
—	127,	—	2,	invert	"London"	and	"Dublin"



